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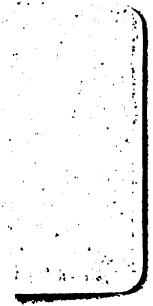

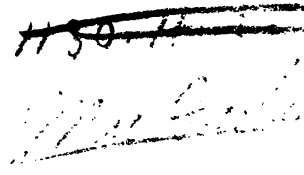

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THE

CABINET

History OF England

VOL. IX.

THE

CABINET

HISTORY OF ENGLAND;

BEING

AN ABRIDGMENT, BY THE AUTHOR,

OF THE CHAPTERS ENTITLED "CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY" IN "THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND," WITH A CONTINUATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY CHARLES MAC FARLANE.

VOLUME IX.

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

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A.D. 1485—1603.

CHAPTER I.—*Continued.*

ELIZABETH.—*Continued.*

Of the French Protestants who escaped, some threw themselves into Rochelle, whence they cast an imploring eye towards England: others fled across the Channel, until every English port on the south coast was crowded with them. The English people would have rushed at once into a war to punish the treachery and cruelty of the French Catholics; but their queen took the matter much more coolly, and peremptorily forbade any of her subjects to take up arms except on their own account, and as private volunteers. She did not recall her ambassador;—nay, she scarcely interrupted her matrimonial treaty, though she was glad to have an opportunity of telling the French court that a visit to England, which had been projected for her young suitor, the Duke of Alençon, would not be desirable in the present temper of her people.*

One of the first effects in England of the St. Bartholomew massacre was an outcry for the immediate execution of Queen Mary, a measure recommended by nearly the whole bench of bishops, from Parker the primate downwards. On the 5th of September Sandys,

* Digges.

bishop of London, proposed to Burghley forthwith to cut off the Scottish queen's head, who, he said, was the infirm part in the foundation of the existing state of things. The queen still shrunk from the odium of publicly imbruing her hands in her rival's blood; but she thought that it might be possible to get the thing safely done in Scotland. Killigrew was sent down to Edinburgh to arrange the matter, being charged not to commit his sovereign's honour by any too open proceeding. He was, in short, to keep himself in public to the settling of a treaty of pacification between the regency and Mary's adherents in Edinburgh Castle and elsewhere; but, in private, he was to propose the delivery of Mary into the hands of her enemies, that she might "receive that she had deserved there by order of justice."*

But this negotiation fell to the ground through the unusual honour of the regent Marr, who was actively employed in arranging a very different pacification. He was labouring to effect a general union of the several rival factions into which the Scottish aristocracy was divided, an object for the accomplishment of which he seems to have been prepared to share his power with Maitland, Kirkaldy, Morton, and the other parties who had hitherto opposed his administration. In the midst of these patriotic negotiations, the Earl of Morton invited the regent to his house at Dalkeith, and treated him very nobly; but the regent took a vehement sickness, which caused him to ride away to Stirling, where he died on the 28th of October of this present

* Elizabeth wished to guard against "that further peril which might ensue by Mary's escaping, or being set up again." Killigrew was commanded to make the most "of the late horrible universal murder in France," and to move the Scots to have good regard that the like be not attempted among them. He was also commanded to use all good speed with the most secrecy that he can, and yet so to deal as that the matter (Mary's death) might rather be opened to him by the Scots than seem to be proposed by him to them.—*Burghley Papers.*

year, 1572. Some of his friends and the common people suspected he had "gotten wrong" at Morton's banquet.* On the 24th of November Morton, who was indisputably the greatest villain in Scotland, was chosen regent under the auspices of Elizabeth, whom he had already served in many particulars. His power had always been great, and now that it was supreme in Scotland, he devoted it to the two great objects of enriching himself by forfeitures and doing the will of the English queen. (A.D. 1573.) Killigrew remained with the new regent, and assisted him in arranging a separate treaty with the Earl of Huntley and the Hamiltons, by which Kirkaldy of Grange, Maitland of Lethington, and the others in Edinburgh Castle, were left to themselves to prolong a now hopeless struggle for Queen Mary. Maitland proposed an honourable capitulation: Morton insisted on an unconditional surrender. At this crisis Elizabeth sent an army from Berwick, under Drury the marshal, who was furnished with heavy artillery, and with instructions to lay the castle in ruins. Though starving and destitute, the garrison under the brave and skilful Kirkaldy held out for thirty-four days, when they surrendered, expressly to Drury and the Queen of England, upon a general promise of favourable terms. But Elizabeth ordered that Maitland and Kirkaldy should be delivered up to Morton. At last all Maitland's undermining and countermining were at an end, and his subtle genius stood rebuked and helpless: he ended his days on the 9th of June, a few weeks after the surrender of the castle. According to one account he took poison, and "died a Roman death;" according to another the poison was administered to him by Morton.† On the 3rd of August following the gallant Kirkaldy was hanged

* Melville.

† Killigrew himself says that Maitland died not without suspicion of poison. Melville and Spottiswood agree in saying that, being surrendered by Elizabeth, he died "after the Roman manner." Mary, in a letter addressed to her in her own hand, accused Elizabeth of the poisoning of Maitland and the most cruel hanging of Kirkaldy.

and quartered as a traitor, and thus perished the last remnant of Mary's party in Scotland.

A.D. 1574.—In the month of May the wretched Charles IX. died a death of horror at Vincennes in the 26th year of his age. He was succeeded by his brother the Duke of Anjou, a former suitor of Elizabeth. This new king, Henry III., was detested by the Protestants for the part he had taken in the massacre; and he had not been a year on the throne when he detected a conspiracy to murder him, in which his own brother, the Duke of Alençon, Elizabeth's present suitor, was deeply implicated. Alençon escaped from the court, and began to levy troops for another war in conjunction with young Henry, the then Protestant King of Navarre. They both applied to Elizabeth for assistance; but she preferred the office of mediator, and, on the 14th of May, 1576, a treaty was concluded by which the Huguenots were to have permission to worship God in their own way in public churches, and Alençon obtained the honours, titles, and appanage which had been enjoyed by his elder brother Henry previous to his accession. From this time Alençon was styled Duke of Anjou. But this pacification was scarcely achieved when Henry III. placed himself at the head of a Catholic league, formed by the majority of his subjects, and in the month of February, 1577, he annulled at a blow the privileges granted to the Huguenots, who thereupon flew to arms.

At this moment the minds of Elizabeth and her ministers were rather occupied by the affairs of the Netherlands than by those of France. The Prince of Orange, after a tremendous struggle, had succeeded in establishing the independence of Holland and Zealand, and the Duke of Alva had been recalled to wither and die under the frowns and ingratitude of his master, Philip, for whom he had waded in blood. Alva had been succeeded by Zuniga, commendator of Requesens, who, by policy and gentle measures, detached many of the partisans of the Prince of Orange. That prince, in his increasing difficulties, offered the sovereignty or the protectorship of Holland and Zealand to Elizabeth, who

was assumed to be a representative of their ancient princes by her descent from Philippa of Hainault, the wife of Edward III. The queen hesitated, and changed her mind more than once, but at last declared that she could not in conscience accept their offer, but that she would act as mediatrix between them and their lawful sovereign Philip. This answer was given in the month of February, 1576, but events occurred with wonderful rapidity which wholly changed the queen's plans. Requesens died, and was succeeded by John of Austria (a bastard son of the late Emperor Charles V.), a brave and popular commander; and it was rumoured that, not satisfied with the subjugation of the whole of the Netherlands, he contemplated an invasion of England and a marriage with the Queen of Scots. At the same time the Prince of Orange, in his despair, talked of offering the sovereignty of his country to Elizabeth's suitor Alençon, now Duke of Anjou. Upon this Elizabeth concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Orange party, protesting all the while to Philip that she merely intended to preserve to him the Netherlands from the grasp of the French, and to herself the kingdom of England free from invasion by his ambitious half-brother Don John. The English negotiator on this occasion was William Davison. The queen had already furnished large sums of money, but now they were in want of more, and Davison engaged to procure it on their giving adequate security. The Dutch diplomatist produced the valuable jewels and plate which had been pledged by Mathias of Austria to the States of Holland; and, on these things being sent to England, fifty thousand pounds were advanced for present exigencies.* In spite of the new spirit which had been infused into them by the English treaty, the Dutch were defeated in the great battle of Gemblours. They then applied, in a breath, to the Protestant princes of Germany, to Eliza-

* Sir Harris Nicholas, 'Life of William Davison, Secretary of State and Privy Councillor to Queen Elizabeth,'—a very valuable contribution to the history of this reign.

beth, and to the Duke of Anjou. Cassimir, another of the English queen's suitors, marched into the Netherlands with a powerful army, and Anjou soon followed with ten thousand men. Neither, however, could do much against such great commanders as Don John and Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, who had recently arrived with another army of Spaniards and Italians. The Duke of Anjou excused his want of success by pleading his anxiety not to offend Elizabeth; and at this very moment he was renewing his suit with a rare ardour. He sent over Simier, a nobleman who possessed uncommon skill in amorous matters, and who was irresistibly witty and gallant. This Simier soon gained an extraordinary ascendancy over the mind of the queen, to whom he constantly represented that his employer Anjou was almost dying of love for her. He did more: he disclosed to her that the Earl of Leicester had recently married in private the widow of the late Earl of Essex. According to popular rumour the favourite had poisoned Essex to make way to his bed. Leicester stormed and protested; but, for the first time in his life, he found his royal mistress implacable. He was severely reprimanded, and placed in confinement at Greenwich. In the following summer (1580) the Duke of Anjou suddenly appeared at Greenwich, having travelled thither in disguise. The strong and masculine mind of Elizabeth was weaker than that of a child in some points, and this was one of them. The romance of the thing quite fascinated her. After a few days of ardent courtship, and much private talk, Anjou went his way. A few days after his departure Elizabeth assembled the lords of her council, and submitted to them "the great question." These lords were divided in opinion—some of them representing the danger to religion from a Catholic husband; the sinfulness of allowing the mass to be set up, though in private, in the royal palace; the peril to her majesty's life, if, at her age (she was now in her forty-ninth year), she should have issue; and the uselessness of the marriage if she had not.* Every account of Elizabeth's conduct

* Burghley Papers.—Sadler.

at this critical moment is startling and perplexing, but most of them would lead us to believe that she was now really anxious for a marriage with this young prince. Burghley, the scarcely less adroit Walsingham, her relative Hunsdon, Mildmay, Sadler,—all were lost in amazement, and doubt, and dread. It is said that she shed passionate tears upon finding that they did not unanimously petition her to marry, as they had done before. They were, however, too careful of their liberty and their places to offer any open opposition to what seemed to be the queen's wishes; and they actively drove on to its conclusion a preliminary matrimonial treaty with Simier. But in two months Elizabeth again declared that she would die a virgin queen. Again, however, in a few months, when a splendid embassy from Catherine de' Medici arrived in London (it was in the spring of 1581), she agreed that the marriage should be concluded within six weeks, but with a provision that she should be at liberty to change her mind again if certain secret stipulations were not previously fulfilled. It is difficult to understand, even with full reference to all her political relations at home and abroad,—it is impossible to reconcile to any fixed and wise principle the vacillating conduct of the queen. The States of the Netherlands, where her influence was great, formally elected the Duke of Anjou to be their sovereign; and when that prince marched into the country at the head of sixteen thousand men, heedless of her old anxieties about French ambition, she sent him a present of one hundred thousand crowns. Chiefly by means of this seasonable aid Anjou gained many other successes. On the approach of winter he put his troops into winter quarters, and hurried over to England, whither, it is said, he was now warmly invited by Elizabeth. His arrival was welcomed with fireworks and other rejoicings; and soon after the queen, before her whole court, took a ring from her finger and put it upon his. Hereupon the news was spread abroad upon the wings of the wind that the queen was going to marry at last. In Paris the news was, that the match could know no further impediment; in Antwerp and Brussels

they lit bonfires and discharged artillery, as if it had really taken place. But, in the night, Elizabeth had talked with some of her council, and in the morning Anjou found his affianced bride pale and in tears; and before he left her apartment he was assured that she could never marry.* It was, however, some time before these matters were made public; and the zealous Protestants continued to rail against the marriage, heaping all kinds of abuse, not only on the Duke of Anjou, but on the whole French nation, and much marvelling that the queen had not a better recollection of the feast of St. Bartholomew. The preachers had begun the attack some time before, by condemning the intended match from the pulpit, but they had been pretty well silenced. After staying three months in England, Anjou prepared to depart, pledging, however, his word to the queen that he would soon return. She accompanied him as far as Canterbury, and there took leave of him, weeping like an amorous girl.† On his arrival in the Netherlands Anjou found very different employment: Alexander Farnese was not yet conquered, and the Prince of Orange possessed in reality the power which nominally belonged to the French prince. Dissensions broke out between the French and the Dutch, and, in the month of June of the following year, Anjou, having witnessed the loss of the greater part of his troops, fled back to France. Soon after his return he fell into a lingering illness, of which he died in the month of June, 1584,—we need scarcely add, "not without suspicion of being poisoned."

We have alluded to the troubles of Ireland and to the views in that direction of France and Spain. That country had never been well governed or tranquil for a single year, but the difference of religion was now a perennial source of havoc and desolation. Sometimes the English pale was wasted by fire and sword; but, generally speaking, the undisciplined Irish were the victims of the merciless war. Shane O'Neil was basely assassinated

* Camden.—Mémoire de Nevers.—Daniel.

† Letter of Lord Talbot, in *Lodge, Illustrations.*

and his lands, comprising the greater part of Ulster, were vested in the English crown as early as 1568. Numerous colonists were sent over from England to occupy these lands, where they had to maintain themselves by the sword, for the dispossessed proprietors struggled hard to keep their inheritance. In 1573 Walter Devereux, earl of Essex, undertook to subdue and colonize the district of Clan-huboy. He set sail with a small army of his own raising, but he met with little success; he was wretchedly seconded by the penurious and jealous court of England; and he died at Dublin in 1576, suspecting himself that he was poisoned.* The Irish priests naturally looked to the pope and the Catholic powers for assistance. From time to time they received encouraging messages from France and Spain; but the first to send them any real assistance in the shape of troops was Pope Gregory XIII. Six hundred disciplined troops and three thousand stand of arms were embarked at Civita Veccia, the nearest port to Rome, to fall down the Mediterranean, to touch at Lisbon, there to take on board Fitz-Morris, an Irish exile, and then to proceed to the Irish coast. But Stukely, the officer to whom this expedition was intrusted, proved a traitor or a mad adventurer: on reaching Lisbon he offered his services to Sebastian, king of Portugal, and, instead of going to Ireland to fight the English, he went to Africa to fight the Moors, who slew him, and King Sebastian, and all his host, at the battle of Alcazar. Fitz-Morris, who was a brother or half-brother of the Earl of Desmond, sailed from Lisbon in the right direction, but he had with him only about eighty Spanish soldiers, a troop of Irish and English Catholic exiles, and Saunders, the Jesuit, whom the pope had named his legate. Such a force could maintain itself nowhere, and the Irish had suffered so severely that they were slow to rise. Fitz-Morris, therefore, lingered among the moors and bogs; but in the

* This was the unfortunate nobleman whose widow, a daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, Leicester, as mentioned above, married for his third wife.

following year, 1580, there was a great rising, and an Italian officer, in the pay of the pope, arrived from Portugal with six or seven hundred men, five thousand stand of arms, and some money. But these foreigners were presently assaulted both by sea and land, in an unfinished fort at or near to Smerwick, in the county Kerry. Two memorable men were in the English camp —Edmund Spenser, the author of the 'Faerie Queen,' and Walter Raleigh, then the captain of a company. The latter, who, in some respects, was not in advance of his age, took a conspicuous part in the carnage which ensued, and the gentle Spenser justified the atrocious deed with his pen. After resisting for three days, San Giuseppe, the Italian commander, hung out a flag of truce, and sent a secretary to the lord deputy, the Lord Grey of Wilton, whom Spenser calls "a most gentle, affable, loving, and temperate lord!" to treat for grace. According to Spenser, this was flatly refused.* The Irish and foreign writers assert that the Lord Deputy Grey of Wilton promised the foreigners their lives; upon which they laid down their arms, and were all massacred in cold blood, with the exception of one Irish nobleman and a few Spanish officers; and, as veteran troops do not lay down their arms, even in extremities, without some such assurance, it may be conjectured that a promise, at least of life, was given. The English continued in that sharp course, and brought under the insurgents of Ulster and Connaught. In 1583 the Earl of Desmond, who had lain concealed for nearly three years in the wildest part of the country, was tracked and killed on his own hearth-stone by one Kelly of Moriarty, who cut off his head and sent it to Elizabeth. The earl's head was fixed upon London Bridge; and for some time there was peace in Ireland.

In Scotland there was the old state of confusion, intrigue, and treachery. The regent Morton had scourge

* View of the State of Ireland, written dialogue wise between Eudoxus and Irenæus, by Edmund Spenser, Esq., in the year 1596.

the country with a rod of iron, plundering in all directions, tampering with the coinage, and seeking every means to enrich himself. In 1578 a convention of the nobility insisted that James, who was now in his thirteenth year, was of a proper age to govern by himself. Morton was taken by surprise, and retired, as to the best place of safety, to Lochleven Castle. About three months after, he contrived to obtain possession of the person of the young king, and to resume his authority. The Earls of Argyle and Athole raised an army,—as they said, to rescue their sovereign from the captivity of the Douglases; but when a battle seemed inevitable, the English ambassador interfered, and patched up a reconciliation. Soon after, Morton gave a banquet to his adversaries; and the Earl of Athole, the chief of these, died of the dinner. And soon there ran a rumour that Morton was negotiating for the delivery of James into the hands of Elizabeth. At this moment Esmé Stuart, lord of Aubigny, arrived from France, where he had been educated. He was the son of a second brother of the Earl of Lennox, the father of Darnley, and consequently a near relation to the young king, who at once took him into extraordinary favour. This, the first of James's many favourites, was handsome, graceful, and accomplished. His rise was proportionately rapid; he became Duke of Lennox, captain of the guard, first lord of the bedchamber, and lord high chamberlain. But, under this favourite, who knew little of Scotland, or of business of any kind, there was a minor favourite, James Stuart, commonly called Captain Stuart, the second son of Lord Ochiltree, a family which also claimed kindred with the royal house. The captain, who had a turn for treachery and intrigue equal to that of Morton, had fully resolved to work the fall of the regent; and this he achieved after many difficulties, for Morton was strong in the prejudices and fears of the people, who were led to believe that the Duke of Lennox was an agent of the Guises, commissioned to restore the mass in Scotland. Morton had procured an act of parliament to ratify every act of his regency, and to indemnify him for any illegal exercise of authority. It was, therefore, deemed im-

prudent to prosecute him for any part of his conduct as regent; but Morton, long before his regency, had been vehemently suspected of having a share in the murder of the king's father; and Captain Stuart, now created Earl of Arran, induced James to proceed against him on this account, alleging that the act of indemnity did not reach to the murderers, and that a sentence upon this fact would equally carry with it the forfeiture of Morton's life and of his immense wealth and wide estates, which would all fall to the poor king. The acute villain had grown somewhat dull with age; he allowed himself to be thrown into prison. Elizabeth sent down her old agent Randolph to interpose in his favour. The Prince of Orange and the Protestant King of Navarre also interfered—for Morton was deemed a sturdy Protestant, while the royal favourite, the young Duke of Lennox, was suspected of papistry. But these representations were not regarded, and Randolph, who was found out plotting with the Earl of Angus, was obliged to flee for his life.* Elizabeth even collected troops near the borders to intimidate the Scots; but this measure was met by the levying of an army in Scotland, and James was made to send a messenger to demand explicitly whether the Queen of England wished to have peace or war. Her majesty then abandoned her creature to his fate, delicately protesting that it would not become her to make war in defence of a murderer, and old Morton, after a very irregular trial,† was submitted to the embraces of the "Maiden," a rude kind of guillotine, which he himself had introduced into Scotland a short time before. And thus perished another regent of Scotland. A portion of the trial is interesting, as bearing upon the question of Mary's guilt or innocence. The unanimous verdict of the jury brought the prisoner in guilty of concealing, or being art and part in the murder of Henry Darnley; and it was proved pretty clearly that his kinsman and confidant Archibald Douglas, and his servant

* The Earl of Angus was nephew to Morton.

† Morton's servants were barbarously tortured to force confessions from them.

Binning, were actually employed in the murder. It was also shown that he had given a bond to Bothwell, to secure him from punishment for that deed; and a paper was produced, which was said to be Bothwell's dying declaration, and which exonerated the queen from all share in the dark transaction. Morton, after sentence, confessed to the ministers of the kirk that, upon his return from England, after his exile for his part in the slaughter of David Rizzio, the Earl of Bothwell and his kinsman Archibald Douglas had solicited him to take part in the projected murder of Darnley; but he affirmed that he declined so doing, unless Bothwell could produce to him the queen's sign-manual in warrant of the deed. He alleged that Bothwell had promised him to produce such an assurance; but he admitted that he *never did*, and that he never saw anything from the queen to authorise the murder. His servant Binning was executed the day after his master; but the far more guilty Archibald Douglas escaped into England.

After the death of Morton, James nominally governed the kingdom by himself; but, in fact, the whole business of the state was managed, or mismanaged, by his favourite, the young Duke of Lennox, and by James Stuart, the new Earl of Arran. The latter was as great a scoundrel as Morton, without his ability and experience, and his private life was outrageously dissolute. He soon commenced an intrigue for the overthrow of the young Duke of Lennox, who had first put him in the way of court promotion; and the course he adopted speedily brought about the ruin both of his patron and of himself. At this moment the Catholics of England turned an anxious eye to the north, not only hoping that James, now that he was relieved from Morton, would make some exertions for his afflicted mother, but also that he might be won over, if not to their church, to a toleration of it—and his feelings in this respect would be of no small importance, as they saw that he would in all probability succeed to the English throne. Active intrigues were set on foot under the main direction of Parsons, the Jesuit, Waytes, an English Catholic clergyman, and

Creighton, a Scottish Jesuit. But it was stated by, or for the king, that he was in a state of extreme poverty, and that, unless he were relieved and succoured from abroad, he must of necessity submit to the will of Elizabeth. Parsons flew to Spain, Creighton to Rome: Philip made James a present of 12,000 crowns; the pope promised 4000 crowns. Mary was made privy to the intrigue, and she offered, upon certain conditions, to legalise James's irregular accession. The English court was no stranger to what was passing, nor to the new conspiracy which ensued. The Earl of Gowrie, a son of the murderous Ruthven, invited James to his castle at Ruthven. The unsuspecting king accepted his invitation, and found himself a close prisoner. Then the authority of the state fell to the Earl of Marr, the master of Glamis, the Lord Oliphant, and others, supported by the preachers, who proclaimed to their congregations that there had been a plot on foot to restore the mass and that limb of Satan, Queen Mary. Arran was taken and thrown into a dungeon; Lennox fled to France, where he died soon after—of course not without suspicion of poison. But, to prove that the Scottish preachers had been mistaken, he died a steady Protestant. When the news of her son's captivity reached Mary, she foresaw nothing less than his absolute ruin or murder, and, putting her own griefs out of consideration, she wrote a letter full of maternal tenderness and anxiety to Elizabeth, imploring her to interfere and save her only child. But Elizabeth was well satisfied with what had taken place, and she now left the affairs of Scotland to themselves. But the lords had never contemplated the violent measures which had suggested themselves to the affrighted imagination of a mother, and James, boy as he was, was their match, at least in dissimulation. He duped his gaolers into a belief that he forgave what had been done; he recovered his liberty, summoned a convention, and resumed the exercise of his authority, having formally pardoned all concerned in the Raid of Ruthven.

All this called for fresh precautions on the part of Elizabeth, who sent down her dexterous minister Walsing-

ham. Intrigues almost inexplicable followed in rapid succession, and the English court was kept in an unceasing agony of alarm by reports of foreign invasions and inroads across the Borders; insurrections at home; plots against the queen's life; English St. Bartholomews. In this state Elizabeth gave full course to the penal code against the Catholics, which had been made more and more severe, and to the fears and fanaticism of her Protestant subjects. Spies and informers were let loose till the land swarmed with them: the adherents to the old faith were incessantly harassed, cast into prison on vague suspicions, ruined in their property and prospects. The conduct of government towards the Catholics somewhat resembled the brutal pranks of a set of boys who drive and torment a dog until he is mad, and then shoot him for being dangerous. And yet, after all, no dangerous Catholic conspiracy was ever traced to any great or powerful number of English subjects—was never brought home to the doors of any but a few fanatics and inveterate plotters who had caught the infection of the times, when the ordinary proceedings of governments looked more like plots and intrigues than state business. Every man was tempted to work destruction on his personal enemy by the ease of the process with which he could accuse him of being unsound in religion and disaffected in politics. In this way Arden, a gentleman of an ancient family in Warwickshire, was sacrificed to the revenge of his neighbour Leicester. Arden's son-in-law Somerville, and Hall, a missionary priest, and Arden's wife, were convicted of a conspiracy upon evidence extracted by the rack. Somerville strangled himself, or was strangled by others, in Newgate. Arden suffered the horrible death of a traitor. Hall, the priest, who had confessed on the rack, was suffered to live. Before this time Campion, an English Jesuit, who had been lurking in England, was put to the rack. He confessed nothing but the writing and distributing of works in favour of the church of Rome, nor does it appear that he was charged with any conspiracy, but he was executed with three priests named Sherwood, Kirby, and Bryant. Notwith-

standing the prevailing fanaticism and panic which held in suspense all the generous feelings of the nation, people began to murmur at the frequent and increasing use of torture; and Burghley found it expedient to defend himself against public opinion. He protested that the Jesuit Campion had been racked *so gently* that he was soon after able to walk about and sign his confession.* Elizabeth did more: she proclaimed that torture should cease: but it ceased only in this specious proclamation,—in reality it became more active than ever. As the vile trade of an informer was a profitable one, many ingenious individuals took it up; and there was a wonderful increase of intercepted letters, forged documents, and lists found hid in Catholic houses,—found, we believe, in three cases out of four by those who had put them there—by the agents of the government. Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, son of the late Duke of Norfolk (one of the poor orphans for whom he had so implored and prayed), grew up a moody, melancholy man, and became a convert to Catholicism. From that moment he had been allowed no rest. To escape imprisonments and questionings, and the fate of his father and his grandfather, who had both suffered on the block, he resolved to quit his country, and, at the moment of departure, he wrote an affecting letter, which was to be delivered to the queen when he should be out of her reach. But some of his own servants, and the master of the vessel in which he intended to seek an asylum abroad, *were in the pay of Burghley*, and on their timely information he was seized on the coast of Sussex, brought up to London, and consigned to the Tower, where he died some years after in a miserable condition. Before his committal, the Earl of Northumberland, the brother of the last earl, beheaded at York, had destroyed himself by discharging three pistol-bullets into his left breast in order to baulk Queen Elizabeth of the forfeiture of his lands. He had been accused of conspiring to liberate Queen Mary.† Passing over

* Somers's Tracts.

† An historical doubt may be fairly raised whether this

many other victims, we proceed to the Throckmorton plot, which was detected by the court, or invented by it, in 1584. Francis Throckmorton, a gentleman of Cheshire, was arrested on the evidence of an intercepted letter written by one Morgan, a supposed adherent of the Queen of Scots, though an agent of Burghley's, who was in France, and who, according to this letter, informed him that Mary's nephew, the Duke of Guise, was now ready to invade England for the purpose of liberating his relative. It was proved beyond a doubt that no such preparation existed in France; but that was nothing. Throckmorton was laid upon the rack: he was silent under the first torture;—he was racked again, and was still silent;—he was tortured a third time, and still confessed not. He was led a fourth time to the rack, and then certain papers were exhibited to him which were

unfortunate Percy committed suicide or was assassinated. A dag or pistol was a sort of instrument not commonly left in the hands of a state prisoner in the Tower. To prove the suicide, government brought forward one Mullan, who affirmed that he had sold a dag to the earl; and another state prisoner, named Pantan, who said that he saw it delivered into the hands of the earl by a servant of the name of Price. But this Price, though in custody, was not produced.—*Howell's State Trials.*

According to Camden the Catholics did not believe in the suicide, but cast some doubts and suspicion upon a servant of Sir Christopher Hatton, which servant had been charged with the custody of the Earl of Northumberland just before his death. In a letter—an infernal letter—written, at a later period, by Sir Walter Raleigh to Burghley's son, Sir Robert Cecil, recommending him to get the Earl of Essex put out of the way, and not to fear after revenge from the earl's son, Raleigh says, "Northumberland that now is thinks not of Hatton's issue. Kelloway lives that murdered the brother of Orsay, and Orsay let him go by all his lifetime."—*Burghley Papers.*

If this be not an assuming as a fact known both to Raleigh and to Sir Robert Cecil that the Earl of Northumberland had been murdered by the contrivance of Hatton, we are wonderfully mistaken.

said to have been discovered in his house, and then the wretched man made some confessions in which he implicated Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador. Burghley summoned the ambassador before the privy council, and charged him with practising against the state. Mendoza indignantly repelled the charge, and retorted by accusing Burghley of robbing his master King Philip; of encouraging the rebellious subjects of Spain; and, amongst other things, he charged a certain counsellor of her majesty with having engaged the brother of a certain lord to murder Don John of Austria. The ambassador was sent out of the kingdom. Throckmorton, after a strange trial, was sent to the gallows and the executioner's knife at Tyburn. On the scaffold he declared that there had been no conspiracy, and (calling God to witness) that the confession he had made was a mere fiction invented to save his body from further torture. The Lords Paget and Charles Arundel, who had been named in the intercepted letter, had escaped into France, whence they put forth a declaration stating that they had fled because they feared Leicester and Walsingham, and because they knew that their innocence would not avail them against forged letters.

A.D. 1584.—In the autumn of this year Elizabeth summoned a new parliament; for, notwithstanding her thrift, she was deplorably in want of money. The commons voted liberally, and at the same time they passed fresh penal statutes against the Catholics. The blow was principally directed against the Jesuits, the seminary priests, and all English priests who had received consecration from the Bishop of Rome. Forty days were allowed them to quit the kingdom for ever: if found after that term they were to die the death of traitors; and all those who concealed them, or gave them hospitality, would be held as being guilty of felony. All persons knowing of such priests being within the realm, and not discovering them within twelve days, were to be fined and imprisoned. The English Catholics, having no schools allowed to them at home, had of late years sent their sons abroad for education, more especially to

the college of Douay, a large establishment conducted by the Jesuits, who had obtained great reputation as teachers: but it was now enacted that all such students abroad as did not return home within six months after proclamation made should be deemed traitors; that all who furnished them with money should incur a premunire; that parents sending their children to such seminaries without license should forfeit one hundred pounds; and that the children there educated should be disinherited.*

The Catholics presented a petition against the late enactments, vindicating their loyalty and their religion,—declaring that they utterly abhorred all such projects of assassination as had recently been spoken of,—and held that neither priest nor pope could license that which was sinful. Richard Shelley, of Michael Grove, in Sussex, undertook to present this petition to the queen, who forthwith committed him to prison, where he died after a confinement of some years. The captive Queen of Scots, who saw herself altogether abandoned by her only child, now thought that every night would be her last. What seemed to aim at her life was an association recently entered into, called the Protestant Association, against all the enemies of Queen Elizabeth. The members of it solemnly swore to defend the queen, and to revenge her death or any injury committed against her. Leicester was at the head of it, and it had been confirmed by parliament.

The state of Elizabeth's foreign relations at this time was altogether anomalous. There was and there had been no declaration of war with Spain, but yet, ever since 1770, when the great Drake obtained a regular commission,† that commander and others who followed his example had been plundering in the West Indies, in Spanish America, and in the Pacific. The right which Spain assumed of considering the New World as trea-

* Stat. 27 Elizabeth, c. 2.

† The buccaneers had commenced operations as early as 1530. Drake himself had commanded several marauding expeditions before, but he did not get the queen's commission till 1570.

sure-trove, and of excluding from its commerce the ships of all other nations, was indeed monstrous; but, on the other hand, it will be difficult to consider Drake, Hawkins, and the rest, in any other light than that of buccaneers, however much we may admire their daring spirit and the great contributions they made in the course of their marauding expeditions to the sciences of navigation and geography. Drake, in the course of three expeditions, had plundered the Spanish towns of Nombre de Dios and Carthagena, and nearly all the towns on the coast of Chili and Peru, and had destroyed or taken an immense number of Spanish ships, returning from each voyage with immense booty. Elizabeth insisted that she and other nations had a right to navigate those seas and to visit the ports which the jealousy of the Spaniards kept closed to all save their own flag, and that it was contrary to the laws of nations to treat intruders as pirates; but there being no declaration of war, she certainly committed in this way manifold acts of real piracy. Again, in the Netherlands, the King of Spain was everywhere met by English money and English resources, which had enabled those whom he termed his revolted subjects to prolong the struggle year after year. For a long time Elizabeth furnished her aid with all possible secrecy, denying to the Spanish court that she ever abetted rebels. But the course of events forced her to adopt a more open practice; and though she again declined the sovereignty or protectorship of the country, she, in 1585, sent over a royal army of six thousand men, having bargained with the States that they should pay all expenses, and deliver to her, as securities, the town of Brill and Flushing, and Rammekins, a strong and important fort. The queen's passionate regard for Leicester had cooled since the revelation of his secret marriage with the Countess of Essex; and that earl was now permitted to take the command of the army in the Netherlands, where he entertained very ambitious projects, and displayed a woful want both of military and civil ability. Without consulting his mistress, he induced the States to name him Governor-General of the Low Countries, and to declare his autho-

rity supreme and absolute, jointly with the council of state. Elizabeth wrote to him in a fury, telling him to remember the dust from which she had raised him, and to do whatever she might command as he valued his neck. The States, who had thought to please the queen by elevating her favourite, were in great perplexity, and Leicester soon showed them, in other ways, that they had committed a lamentable mistake in intrusting a sovereign power to such an incapable, arrogant, and insolent man, whose first operations were to cramp the freedom of commerce, which had given life and energy to the insurgents. In the field he was pompous, vain-glorious, and inefficient, presenting a wretched contrast to Alexander Farnese, the prince of Parma, who still prolonged the struggle for Spain with remarkable generalship. He carefully avoided a battle, and his greatest affair of arms was an attack upon Zutphen, which failed, and which would scarcely deserve a mention in history but for the death of the gallant and accomplished Sir Philip Sidney, who perished there in the twenty-fifth year of his age.* The best-managed part of his campaign was his hunting all Catholics from places of profit and trust, and his captivating the Calvinistic preachers of the Low Countries by such measures, and by a very sanctimonious bearing. When the States ventured to call him to account for his gross misconduct, this noble grandson of a tax-gatherer and extortioner† promised redress, but complained to his creatures that one of his rank should be questioned by shopkeepers and artisans.‡ In the winter of 1586, having pacified the queen, he returned to England, still however, retaining the power intrusted to him in the Low Countries.

By this time there began to rise a rumour that the

* Sir Philip Sidney was nephew to Leicester, but as unlike his uncle as light to dark.

† For the history of Leicester's grandfather, Dudley, the colleague of Empson, see ante, Reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.

‡ Grotius.

King of Spain was preparing to invade England with a tremendous force, and some Catholic plot or other at home was the news of every day. Most—nearly every one—of these conspiracies were conjured up by the imagination, or were altogether obscure and insignificant; but, in the autumn of 1586, a real plot was discovered, at the head of which was Anthony Babington, a young English Catholic of an enthusiastic temper, who was brought to consider that it would be glorious in this world and acceptable in the next if he could assassinate Elizabeth and deliver Queen Mary from a captivity which was now rendered an unceasing torture, physically as well as morally. Babington had several accomplices, and one of these, named Pooley, put himself in direct communication with Walsingham, who was informed of every particular from the first rude arrangement of the scheme, and who permitted the plot to go on in order to implicate Mary. When he had played with the numerous threads of this intrigue for months, and had woven a complete web round the conspirators, he opened the subject to Elizabeth, and soon after proceeded to act. Ballard, a seminary priest, whom Camden calls "a silken priest in a soldier's habit," was suddenly arrested. Babington and the rest, who were all young men of fortune and acquirements, fled; but Babington was taken in a few days, at Harrow-on-the-Hill, with Gage, Charnock, Barnwell, and Don, in the house of Bellamy their common friend. Titchborn, Travers, Abington, Salisbury, Jones, and Tilney were seized in other places, and of the whole number only Edward Windsor, the brother of Lord Windsor, escaped pursuit. These were no base and mercenary conspirators,—they were such high-spirited and intellectual young men as could not have been easily matched in the kingdom. But it appears that they were all put to the rack, or at least threatened with it; a gratuitous atrocity, for Walsingham, Burleigh, and the queen knew precisely all that could possibly be known of the business. While this was doing the bells of London rang merrily for their apprehension,—bonfires were lit,—and on the morrow, banquets were spread in the

streets, with singing of psalms and praising God for preserving her majesty and people.* The fate of the prisoners, however, on account of their youth, their honourable condition in society, and their previously unimpeached characters, excited some commiseration, and this seems to have been the cause of the government arraigning them not all at once, but in two separate bodies, notwithstanding the great legal objection that their case was one and indivisible. On the 13th of September, certain of them being put upon their trial were condemned as traitors, and executed on the 20th, with a scrupulous attention to the atrocious processes prescribed by law, being all cut down while life was in them. The other seven were tried on the 15th and were all executed on the 21st, but, in this more fortunate than their companions, they were allowed to hang till they were dead. The place selected for their execution was Lincoln's-Inn Fields, "even the place where they had used to meet and confer."† With the exception of Babington, it seems to be extremely doubtful whether any of these gentlemen contemplated the murder of the queen, and, with the single exception of Babington, all of them behaved chivalrously and nobly, endeavouring to take blame to themselves rather than cast it upon their companions. Most of them maintained that their views were confined to liberating the captive queen, a project likely to take firm hold of young and romantic minds. Bellamy, of Harrow, appears to have suffered merely because some of the fugitives were found in his house. His wife escaped through a misnomer in the indictment. A statute had been just passed to meet the case, and to bring Mary to the block ;‡

* Stow. The Protestant people of London were so excited that the French ambassador was afraid they would set upon and massacre all the Catholics and foreigners!

† Stow.

‡ Stat. 27 Eliz. c. 1. By this statute it was enacted that twenty-four or more of the privy council and House of Lords, to be deputed by the queen's commission, should make inquisition after all such as should invade the kingdom, raise rebellion, or attempt to hurt or destroy the queen's person,

and as what was deemed evidence against her had been secured from the Babington conspiracy, Elizabeth's council now proposed an immediate trial of the Scottish queen. But even now Elizabeth hesitated, to the dismay and secret wrath of Burghley, Walsingham, Sadler, and the rest of the ministry. At this moment Leicester, who was abroad, stepped in with what he considered a masterpiece of advice, proposing a little quiet poison. Walsingham, who had the chief management of the affair, objected to such a course as being contrary to God's law; upon which the earl sent him a canting preacher to prove that such means against such a person were quite justifiable by scripture. There was then a talk of shortening the captive's life by increasing the rigour of her treatment, which, in fact, had already been rigorous enough to make a sickly cripple of that once healthful and beautiful woman. At last, giving herself up entirely to the advice of Walsingham, Elizabeth issued a commission to try Mary and pronounce judgment upon her according to the act recently passed. There was no want of high names or of legal authorities in this most illegal commission. There were the Chancellor Bromley, the Lord Treasurer Burghley, the Earls of Oxford, Kent, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Cumberland, Warwick, Pembroke, and Lincoln; the Viscount Montague, the Lords Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Stafford, Grey, Lumley, Stourton, Sandys, Wentworth, Mordant, St. John of Bletsoe, Compton, and Cheney; Sir James Croft, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sir Amyas Pawlet; Wray, chief justice of the Common Pleas; Anderson, chief justice of the King's Bench; Manwood, chief baron of

for or by whomsoever employed that might lay claim to the crown of England; and that the person for whom or by whom they should attempt the same, should be utterly incapable of the crown of England, deprived wholly of all right and title to it, and prosecuted to death by all faithful subjects, if he or she should be judged by those four-and-twenty men to be a party to such invasion, rebellion, or treasonable attempt

the Exchequer; and Gawdy, one of the justices of the Common Pleas.

Mary had been moved from one prison to another, each remove being to a worse place, and to a harsher keeper. In the spring of the preceding year, Sir Ralph Sadler had been appointed to take charge of her, to his own great grief—for Elizabeth had become so much alarmed, that no degree of vigilance and severity towards the captive could satisfy her. There was a sort of poetical justice in what happened. Sir Ralph's old age was made wretched through the Scottish queen, whose power he had undermined by matchless intrigues in her infancy, and he prayed for death to deliver him from his difficult charge and his mistress's jealousy. He was superseded by Sir Amyas Pawlet and Sir Drew Drury, both fanatical puritans and friends of the Earl of Leicester. About Christmas they had carried her, in a deplorable state both of body and mind, to Chartley Castle, in Staffordshire. On the 9th of August, a few days before the arrest of Babington, she was taken from Chartley under pretext of an airing, and carried by force to Tixhall, in the same county. She was carried back to Chartley in a few weeks; but, in the interval, her two faithful secretaries Naue and Curle had been taken into custody and conveyed to Walsingham's house, where they were kept; her cabinets at Chartley had been broken open, and a large chest had been filled from them with letters and papers, and conveyed to Walsingham. On the 10th of December, Pawlet discharged what he called Mary's superfluous servants, and seized all her money and jewels. Mary resisted at first; but, he says, "I called my servants, and sent for bars to break open the doors, whereupon she yielded." According to the gaoler's own account, he found her in bed, suffering greatly, and being bereft of the use of one of her hands.*

* Letter from Sir Amyas Pawlet to Walsingham, quoted by Rauner. At this moment we find Walsingham lamenting, as Burghley had done some years before, that Elizabeth was not prepared to do things in season, and work her own security as she ought: and he adds, in the cant of the times, "Our sins do deserve this, especially our unthankfulness for

A few days after the execution of Babington and the twelve other victims, orders were sent down to Sir Amyas Pawlet to remove Mary with all possible care and vigilance from Chartley to Fotheringay Castle, in Northamptonshire, the last scene of the captive's sufferings. There had been for some time a standing order to shoot the prisoner if she were found trying to escape, or if any dangerous attempt at rescue should be made. Pawlet again pretended that nothing more was meant than to revive the queen by giving her a change of air; but, avoiding the public roads, he led her about from one gentleman's house to another, and Mary knew not whither she was going until, at last, she saw herself shut up within the dismal walls of Fotheringay. When Elizabeth learnt that she was safely lodged there, her gratitude burst forth in an unusual enthusiasm to the able manager of the journey. "Amyas, my most faithful and careful servant," wrote the queen to the gaoler, "God Almighty reward thee trebleFold for thy most troublesome charge so well discharged!" Shortly after, Pawlet received orders, "in case he heard any noise or disturbance in Mary's lodgings, or in the place where she was," to kill her outright without waiting for any further power or command. Before the trial, as after it, Elizabeth would have preferred any kind of death to that of an execution under her own warrant. But though Mary had a narrow escape one night when the chimney of her wretched dungeon took fire, she lived on. At length, on the 11th of October, thirty-six of the English commissioners arrived at Fotheringay Castle; and on the following day they sent Sir Walter Mildmay, Pawlet, and Barker, a public notary, to deliver to the prisoner a letter from Elizabeth, charging her with being accessory to the Babington conspiracy, and informing her that they were appointed to try her for that and for other treasons. Mary read the let with composure, and replied, with great dignity, to commissioners—that it grieved her to find her dear si the great and singular benefits it hath pleased God to b this land withal."

misinformed; that she had been kept in prison until she was deprived of the use of her limbs, notwithstanding her having repeatedly offered reasonable and safe conditions for her liberty; that she had given her majesty full and faithful notice of several dangers which threatened her, and yet had found no credit, but had always been slighted and despised, though so nearly allied to her majesty in blood; that when the Protestant Association was entered into, and the confirming act of parliament made upon it, she clearly foresaw that, whatever dangers should arise, either from princes abroad, or ill-disposed people at home, or for the sake of religion, the whole blame would be thrown upon her; that it seemed most strange that the queen should command her, her equal, to submit to a trial as a subject; that she was an independent queen, and one that would do nothing that might be prejudicial to her own majesty or to her son's rights; that her mind would not sink under the present calamity. "The laws and statutes of England," continued Mary, "are unknown to me; I am void of counsellors, and cannot tell who shall be my peers. My notes and papers are taken from me, and no one dares appear to be my advocate. I have committed nothing against the queen—have stirred up no man against her, and am not to be charged but from my own words or writings, which I am sure cannot be produced against me. Yet I cannot deny that I have recommended myself and my condition to foreign princes." On the next day, Pawlet and Barker returned to her from the commissioners to ask whether she persisted in her answer. She replied that she did most firmly. "But this," added she, "I had quite forgotten. The queen says I am subject to the laws of England, and to be tried and judged by them, because I am under the protection of them. But to this I answer, that I came into England to demand her aid and assistance, and have ever since been detained a prisoner, so that I could not enjoy the protection of the laws of England; nor could I ever yet understand what manner of laws they were."*

* Camden, Life and Reign of Elizabeth.

In the afternoon of the same day, there went to her certain selected persons from among the commissioners, "with men learned in the civil and canon laws," to persuade her to a compliance. The Lord Chancellor Bromley and the Lord Treasurer Burghley justified their authority by their patent and commission, told her that neither her state as a prisoner, nor her prerogative as a queen, could exempt her from subjection to the laws of England, and threatened, if she refused to plead, to proceed against her, although she were absent. She replied, with undiminished firmness, that she was no subject, nor liable to English law; that she would rather die a thousand deaths than dishonour herself by any such submission; that, however, she was willing to answer all things in a free and full parliament; and that, as for this meeting, it might probably be devised against her, who was already prejudged to die, to give some legal show and colour to their proceedings; and, therefore, she desired they would look to their consciences, and remember that the theatre of the whole world is much wider than the kingdom of England.* She then complained, in a touching manner, of her hard usage; but Burghley interrupted her, assuring her that the queen his mistress had always treated her with a rare kindness! A few hours after, they sent her the list of the names of her judges, "to let her see they designed to proceed by equity and reason." Although nearly every name was that of an inveterate enemy, she made no exceptions against the commissioners, which would have been useless; but—what was equally useless—she objected strongly to the late act, upon which their commission was founded, as being unjust and unprecedented, and purposely contrived to ruin her. She said that she could not away with the queen's laws, which she had good reason to suspect; but that she was heart-whole still, and would not derogate from the honour of [illegible] ancestors the kings of Scotland, by owning herself subject to the crown of England, and that she would rather perish utterly than answer as the queen's subj[illegible]

* Camden.

and a criminal person. Here Burghley interrupted her, saying, "We will, nevertheless, proceed against you to-morrow, as absent and contumax." Mary replied, "Look to your consciences." Then the perfumed and court-like Vice-Chamberlain Hatton said, "If you are innocent you have nothing to fear; but by seeking to avoid a trial, you stain your reputation with an everlasting blot." This timely speech made a great impression, and on the following morning Mary consented to plead for the sake of her reputation, but on condition that her protest against the authority of the court should be allowed. Burghley asked her if she would appear at her trial provided her protest was entered in writing, without being fully admitted by them. Here Mary ought to have replied with a decided negative; but, in reality, protest or no protest was of the slightest consequence; and as they had threatened to proceed in her absence, and as they could easily force a weak and helpless woman to their bar, the queen consented.

On the 14th of October the commissioners assembled in the presence-chamber of Fotheringay Castle. At the upper end of this hall was a vacant chair of state, royally canopied, as if for the Queen of England, and "below it, and at some distance over against," was a chair without any canopy, for the Queen of Scots. The commissioners and their assistants, including the most expert lawyers of the day, sat upon benches placed towards the wall on either side of the apartment. Mary had no assistant—no papers—no witnesses; for everything had been taken from her: and yet, even according to the prejudiced accounts of her enemies, she displayed wonderful self-possession and address; and, in the striking words of a modern, and perhaps too favourable historian, she for two whole days kept at bay the hunters of her life.* Upon her first entrance, as soon as she had taken her seat, the Chancellor Bromley told her that the most serene Queen Elizabeth, being informed, to her great grief and trouble of mind, that she had

* Dr. Lingard.

conspired the destruction of her person and of the realm of England, and the subversion of religion, had appointed this present commission to hear how she could vindicate herself from the charge, and make her innocence appear to the world. Mary then rose, and said, that she had come into England as a friend and sister, to ask the aid which had been promised her, and had ever since been detained a prisoner; and then she repeated her protest against the authority of the court. The chancellor denied that any aid had been promised her; but there he stopped, not venturing to explain, promise or no promise, by what law Elizabeth had constituted her a state prisoner, or attempt to lessen the odium which had been cast on the national hospitality. But he told her that, as she had been living in England, she was subject to the English laws, and that therefore her protest could not be admitted. It was, however, agreed that her protest should be recorded, together with the chancellor's reply to it. They then read their commission at full length, and, as it was wholly founded upon the late act, she again protested against the said act as being made expressly against herself. Burghley, who would have had the grass growing over her grave many years before, told her that the validity of laws and acts of parliament did not depend upon their antiquity,—that new laws were as good as old ones, and equally binding,—that it did not become her to speak against them,—and that, in spite of her protests, they were all resolved to proceed against her by that said act of parliament. Mary said that she was ready to hear and answer concerning any fact against Queen Elizabeth. Then Gawdy, the queen's serjeant, opened the case against her with an historical account of Babington's conspiracy; asserting, at the close of his oration, that she knew of it, approved it, assented to it, promised her assistance, and showed the way and means for effecting it. When the serjeant had done speaking, sundry *copies* of letters which were said to have been written to her by Babington, and by her to Babington and others, were produced. According to these second-hand documents

which contained a scheme of the whole conspiracy, the captive queen had not only invited foreign powers to the invasion of England, but had also encouraged Babington and his associates to assassinate their sovereign. During the reading of these letters Mary was calm; but when, in the last letter, mention was made of the unfortunate Earl of Arundel, the son of the Duke of Norfolk, she burst into tears, and said, "Alas! what has the noble House of Howard endured for my sake!" But, presently drying her tears, she replied to this part of the evidence, declaring that she knew not Babington, nor ever received any such letters from him, nor wrote any such to him,—that they who pretended that she had written to Babington ought to produce her letters in her own hand-writing, and that if Babington wrote letters to her they ought to prove that she received them. There was, indeed, she said, a packet of letters put into her hand about the time alleged, but they had been written almost a year before, and she knew not who sent them. She said that many persons, compassionating her hard fate, had secretly made her offers of service, but that she neither excited nor encouraged any of these, though she, a close prisoner, cut off from the world, and for long periods from all knowledge of what was passing in it, could not hinder their enterprises. She was not answerable for the deeds of others. She had, indeed, used her best endeavours for the recovery of her liberty, as nature itself dictated and allowed; and to this end she had solicited the assistance of her friends. Others might have attempted dangerous designs without her knowledge; and it was an easy matter to counterfeit ciphers and characters. Although she denied prompting an invasion of England, she was less emphatic on that point than on the accusation of being privy to the plot against Elizabeth's life: here she vowed repeatedly that she would never make shipwreck of her soul by engaging in such a bloody crime. In reply to a letter said to have been written by her to provoke an invasion, she declared that she suspected Walsingham as the author of that letter: and Walsingham, in fact, had

handled every letter in his own way.* But the bronzed secretary stood up in his place, and solemnly called God to witness that he had done nothing in malice,—nothing unworthy of an honest man: and no doubt he thought that an honest man might do more than he had ever done for the sake of the queen and the Protestant settlement. The greatest weight of evidence was made to lie in the confession of Babington, and the extorted depositions of her own servants, Naue and Curle. In regard to Babington, she objected, that, if her adversaries had wished to discover the truth, they would have kept him for a witness, instead of putting him to death,—that his confession, if really made in the manner now set forth, was of no value, as it might have been dictated by the hope of mercy: as to the secretaries, she replied that Naue was a simple and timid man, and that Curle was the follower of Naue; their depositions might have proceeded from their anxiety to save their own lives. Naue, she said, had formerly committed the offence of writing certain things in her name without her authority. She demanded to be confronted with her two secretaries: the commissioners refused to produce them. Then Mary urged that the majesty and safety of princes must fall to the ground if they were to depend in this manner upon the writing and testimony of secretaries—that she was sure, if Naue and Curle were there present, they would clear her of all blame in this case,—that if they had not taken away all her notes and papers, she might answer more particularly to what was objected. There was another and a strong objection to the testimony of Naue and Curle, even if their depositions were free and ungarbled: they had both been sworn, as secretaries, to keep her secrets: if they had accused her truly they had prejured themselves to her; if falsely, they perjured themselves to the Queen of England.† The prosecutors

* Some of the letters were widely different now from wha they had been when produced on Babington's trial at London.

† Curle afterwards reproached Walsingham with breaking his promise, and not giving him the proper reward. Naue, in 1605, wrote an apology, which would certainly have

read the heads of several letters addressed to the lately expelled Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, and to Sir Francis Englefield, Charles Paget, and other Englishmen abroad, among whom was one Morgan who had all along been in the pay of Walsingham. We have no doubt, in our own minds, that the captive queen, in her despair, wrote letters of this kind, approving of a plan of invasion, and offering to contribute to its success, by inducing her friends in Scotland to take up arms, to seize the person of James, and to prevent Elizabeth's friends from sending Scottish troops to her assistance; and it is quite certain, from the perfect machinery he had at work, that Walsingham might obtain possession both of her despatches and of the letters written to her from abroad. It was not, however, considered decent to explain the nature of this machinery, and it was alleged that the original drafts of these despatches and the foreign letters were all found amongst her papers at Chartley,—a most improbable circumstance, considering the situation of Mary, liable every moment to intrusion and seizure. And yet some of these letters from abroad, garbled as they might have been, went rather to disprove than to prove Mary's actual participation in the plots against Elizabeth's life. In regard to the whole of them, Mary said that they bore no relation to the destruction of the queen; and, if foreigners endeavoured to set her at liberty, that was not to be imputed to her as a crime: she had at several times let the queen know that she would seek to procure

more weight if Mary's son James, to whom it was addressed, had not been King of England, with ample powers both to punish and reward. "The sentence," says Camden, "which depended wholly upon the credit of her secretaries, and they not being brought face to face, according to the act of parliament, begot much talk and various discourses among the people." "I have seen," he adds, "Naue's apology to King James, in 1605, wherein he solemnly excused himself that he was neither the author nor the revealer of the design, and that he had stoutly opposed the principal articles of accusation against his mistress, which appeareth not by the proceedings."

her release from that hard captivity in which she had been kept for nearly twenty years. The commissioners insisted that it was fully proved, by some short passages in letters she had written to Mendoza, that there was a design on her part to convey her right in the English succession to the King of Spain. To this charge she replied, that being a close prisoner, oppressed with cares and deprived of all hope of liberty, and daily declining through sickness and sorrow, she had been advised by some to settle the succession upon the Spaniard, or upon some English Catholic; and that she had given offence to some of her friends by refusing to approve of any such scheme. "But," she added, "when all my hopes of England became desperate, I resolved not to reject foreign help." She again desired that her papers and her secretaries Naue and Curle might be produced, and this was again refused: she requested an adjournment, with the aid of counsel, and this was refused. She again demanded to be heard in full parliament, or that she might speak with the queen in council in person. The commissioners, who had received fresh instructions from Elizabeth, would grant nothing; but the chief of them, including Burghley, Walsingham, and Hatton, took her apart from the rest—she rising up, "with great presence of countenance," says Camden—and spoke to her for some time. During this secret conference Mary was observed to be much agitated. The commissioners then adjourned the assembly to the 25th of October, then to meet, not in presence of the prisoner, nor in Fotheringay Castle, but in the Star Chamber at Westminster.

On the appointed day the commissioners, with the exception of the Earls of Warwick and Shrewsbury, assembled in the Star Chamber, to which other lords were summoned. They *now* brought before them Naue and Curle, who affirmed upon oath, and, as it was expressed, "only in respect of the truth, frankly and voluntarily, without any torture, constraint, or threatening," that the letters and copies of letters, before mentioned, were genuine and true; and that all was true which they had before confessed and subscribed. This over, without any fi

ther ceremony the court pronounced sentence against Mary, daughter of James V., commonly called Queen of Scotland; "for that since the conclusion of the session of parliament, viz., since the 1st day of June, in the twenty-seventh year of her majesty's reign, and before the date of the commission, divers matters have been compassed and imagined within this realm of England by Anthony Babington and others, with the privity of the said Mary, pretending a title to the crown of this realm of England, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the royal person of our lady the queen: and also for that the aforesaid Mary, pretending a title to the crown, hath herself compassed and imagined within this realm divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the royal person of our sovereign lady the queen, contrary to the form of the statute in the commission aforesaid specified."*

Mary clearly foresaw that the departure of the commissioners from Fotheringay would be followed by the arrival of the executioner; and she told Sir Amyas Paulet that history made mention how the realm of England was used to shed royal blood. But though Elizabeth had procured a sentence, she paused at the prospect of the block, being resolved, as was usual with her, to make the weight of blood seem to fall upon others. And there were others, including the highest names in the kingdom, and among the representatives of the people, who seemed quite ready to take the burden upon their own consciences. On the 29th of October, four days after the passing of the sentence, the parliament assembled, and on the 12th of November both houses, addressing the queen, implored her to give orders for the immediate execution of the Queen of Scots. Mr. Serjeant Puckering, the speaker, in the name of the commons, pointed out the very dangerous consequences of sparing any longer the life of that wicked woman. He then quoted examples from the Bible of rulers who had incurred the vengeance of the

* Burghley Papers. — Hardwick Papers. — Camden. — Howell, State Trials. — Jebb, Life of Mary. — Original letters cited by Chalmers, Ellis. Raumer, and Wright.

Almighty by showing mercy to their enemies, as Saul, who had saved King Agag, and Ahab, who had preserved Benhadad. The speaker ended by saying that they relied upon her princely resolution, and that they accounted the execution as a thing that would be unto God most acceptable. Elizabeth commenced her reply by expressing gratitude for the special care which Providence had taken of her, and by asserting that her nature was so devoid of malice, that even now, although she had been convicted of treason, if she thought Mary would repent, and her emissaries not pursue their designs —or, that if they were two milk-maids, with pails upon their arms, and it was merely a question which involved her own life without endangering the religion and welfare of her people,—she would most willingly pardon all her offences. She then pathetically declared that if, by her own death, the kingdom might be bettered, she would willingly die, having nothing worth living for. Next she reproached the house for their frequently standing more upon form than matter,—more upon the words than the sense of the law; complaining that the late act of parliament about treasons (which had been devised in her own closet) had brought her into a great strait, by obliging her to give directions for her kinswoman's death, which was to her a most grievous and irksome burden. But, then, changing her tone to keep up the panic-alarm, and the cry for blood, she said that she would tell them a secret;—that she lately saw it written that an oath was taken within a few days by certain persons either to kill her or to be hanged themselves, and thereupon she expressed her mindfulness *of their own oath of association* for the security of her person. She ended her long discourse by saying "that she thought it requisite, with earnest prayer, to beseech the Divine Majesty so to illuminate her understanding, and to inspire her with His grace, that she might see clearly to do and determin that which should serve to the establishment of His church, preservation of their estates, and the prosperity of the commonwealth under her charge; wherein, as she knew delays are dangerous, they should, with all

convenience, have her resolution." When a few days had passed, she sent a message to the lords and commons, earnestly charging them to consider whether some other means might not be suggested. The two houses deliberated and conferred with one another, and then unanimously replied that no other sound and assured means could be devised for the safety of the realm, religion, and her majesty's person. But Elizabeth had not yet done acting. In reply to this address she said that she had had a fearful struggle with herself—that she had entertained a greedy desire and hungry will that their consultations might have had another issue—that she must complain, though not of them, *unto* them; for that she perceived by their advice, prayers, and desires, that only her injurer's bane must be her security. But, in the meanwhile, whispers had been spread abroad by those who knew Elizabeth's character, and these rumours she met by declaring, that if any persons were so wicked as to suppose that she prolonged this time only to make a show of clemency, they did her so great a wrong as they could hardly recompense—that she, in referring the subject of Mary's execution to parliament, had earnestly desired that every one should act in that matter according to his conscience, and that, if her ministers had not signified as much to them, they had not done their duty towards her. She said that she had just cause to complain that she, who had pardoned so many rebels, and winked at so many treasons, should now be obliged to take the life of such a person. Many opprobrious books and pamphlets had accused her of being a tyrant, which was, indeed, news to her; but what would they now say if a maiden queen should spill the blood of her own kinswoman? Yet it were a foolish course to cherish a sword to cut her own throat; and she was infinitely beholden to them who sought to preserve her life. Then she reverted to a round-about, oracular style, saying, "If I should say I will not do what you require, it might, peradventure, be saying more than I mean; and if I should say I will do it, it might, perhaps, breed greater peril than those from which you would protect me." She then gave a few

comfortable words to the members before they returned to their counties, and dismissed them.*

A few days after, on the 6th of December, she ordered the sentence of death to be proclaimed in various parts of London and in other places, which was done in great state, and with infinite rejoicings. In London every house was illuminated, the bells were rung from every steeple, bonfires were lit in every street, and there was a great singing of psalms in all parts of the city.† Lord Buckhurst and Mr. Robert Beale, accompanied by a great troop, were sent to Fotheringay Castle to announce her doom to the captive, and to tell her in Elizabeth's name what especial favour had been shown to her in her trial by the appointment of many distinguished noblemen and the whole of the privy council to be her judges, instead of obliging her to appear before the common criminal courts. Buckhurst and Beale were instructed to obtain, if possible, a confession of guilt from Mary, who, it was calculated, would lose heart and courage at the close prospect of death. But Elizabeth had formed a wrong estimate of the strength of her rival's character. Mary, whatever may have been her former errors or guilt, suffered and died like a heroine and a martyr. She received the message, not merely with firmness but with cheerfulness, saying, that she was a-weary of this world and glad that her troubles were about to end. The two messengers were accompanied by a Protestant bishop and a dean, according to *their* notion, to direct her conscience and administer spiritual comfort in this extremity,—according to *her* notion, to persecute her with their heretical intolerance in her last moments. She wholly rejected their assistance, but begged in the blessed name of Christ that she might be attended by her own almoner, who was in the castle, though long since separated from her. Buckhurst and the Protestant priests brutally told her that, do what she might, she could hardly die a saint even Catholic eyes, seeing that she had been fairly condemn for attempting to murder their queen. Once more Mar

* D'Ewes.—Howell.—Camden. † Holinshed.

with the name of her Saviour in her mouth, denied that she had ever devised, counselled, or commanded the death of Queen Elizabeth. When left to herself and her Catholic chaplain, she wrote a letter to the Pope and another to the Archbishop of Glasgow, in which she called upon her relatives of the House of Guise, who had been accused equally with herself, to vindicate her character. A few days after her gaolers, Sir Amyas Pawlet and Sir Drew Drury, informed her that, as she had refused to make any submission or confession, and as she was now dead in law, she had no right to the insignia of royalty which hitherto had been left to her in her prison. Mary replied that she was an anointed queen,—that, in spite of Elizabeth, her council, and her heretical judges, she would still die a queen. While Pawlet's servants took down her canopy of state, and disrobed her of the regal ornaments, the starch puritan himself sat down with his hat on in her presence, and otherwise insulted her. Mary then wrote her last letter to her rival, telling her that her mind was free from malice and resentment,—that she thanked God that he was now pleased to put an end to her troublesome pilgrimage,—that the only favours she would ask were that she might not be privately put to death, and that her servants and others might be allowed to witness her end,*—that her faithful attendants might have liberty to leave England without disturbance, and quietly enjoy the small legacies she had bequeathed them, and that her body might be conveyed for interment to France. These things she besought her to grant in the name of Christ, by their near relationship, by the me-

* "Fearing," says Mary, "as I do, the secret tyranny of some persons, I beg you not to permit the sentence to be executed upon me without your knowledge; not from fear of the torment, which I am very ready to suffer, but on account of the reports which, in the absence of witnesses above suspicion, might be spread respecting my death, as I know has been done in the case of others of different condition. To avoid which I desire that my servants shall be spectators and witnesses of my death, in the faith of my Saviour and in obedience to His church."

mory of Henry VII., their common ancestor, and by her own royal dignity.

In the meanwhile Henry III., king of France, had sent over Bellièvre as a special ambassador to intercede for Mary's life. Bellièvre was a pedant and a poor negotiator, but there seems to be no good reason for suspecting his sincerity. Elizabeth, according to the report of his mission, deferred, with infinite malice, giving him audience, pretending, first, that some hired assassins, unknown to him, had got mixed in his retinue with the design of taking her life; and then, that the plague had broken out among his followers on their journey. It was while she was sending these evasive answers to Bellièvre that parliament proceeded to confirm the sentence and to press for the execution. At last, on the 7th of December, she sent for the ambassador to Richmond, where she received him, seated on a throne and surrounded by her chief lords. Bellièvre remonstrated in forcible language. Elizabeth betrayed signs of strong emotion, but met all his representations with the reply that this was the third time the Queen of Scots had attempted her life. According to De Thou, Bellièvre pledged his sovereign's word that the Duke of Guise would give his own sons as hostages for the future conduct of Mary if her life were spared. Elizabeth told him, in a word, that such guarantees would be of little use when she was murdered. Bellièvre returned to London, where he remained some days anxiously waiting for a definitive answer, and then, getting none, he intimated that as they had proceeded even to the recording of a sentence of death there was no need for his making a longer stay in England, and he demanded his passport. Elizabeth neither sent him an answer nor his passport. He wrote again and requested an audience,—she was indisposed and could not be seen: he caused a letter to be put into the hands of Walsingham, who engaged to get an answer the next day. On the next day Bellièvre received a *verbal message*, that the queen was pleased to grant a delay of twelve days. He still lingered about court in the hopes of doing some service; and, on the 6th of January, 1587, when Mary had

been prepared to die, he was summoned to Greenwich, where Elizabeth condescended to hear at length his arguments against the execution of the infamous sentence. His pleading was interlarded with references to classical history, philosophy, poetry, and the Old Testament: but these things were after the taste of the queen and her court. He told her that the race of common and low people is of lead, but that of kings is of gold,—that from royalty royal deeds are looked for,—that princes, though not always equal in grandeur and power, are equal in royal dignity and the right which comes from heaven,—that it would be a bad example to show the world that princes could die on a block like common people. Yet some of his arguments were well put and unanswerable. In reply to the position that strangers, even of royal dignity, are subject to the laws of the country which they have chosen for their residence, he said that it was necessary to prove a free choice, and that the world knew the Queen of Scots had been kept in England wholly against her will. Elizabeth heard the ambassador with tolerable patience until he told her that if she proceeded to such rigorous and extraordinary judgment his master could not do otherwise than resent it: she then expressed herself in terms "almost of indignity." Bellièvre then prepared to depart, but he was requested to remain a few days longer. On the 14th of January he received his passport and went his way, with the conviction that his intercession had been fruitless, and that nothing could allay the queen's thirst for revenge.* L'Aubespine de Chateauneuf, the resident ambassador, resumed the negotiation; but he was presently silenced by being accused of taking part in a new plot to assassinate Queen Elizabeth. The queen and her ministers, indeed, pretended that they gave no credit to this foul charge, but they nevertheless intercepted his despatches and threw his secretary into prison. The French king, in his rage, interrupted his diplomatic relations;

* Advis et Mémoire de ce qu'a été fait en Angleterre, par M. de Bellièvre, &c. This account seems to have been written by a person attached to the embassy.

but being made to feel that the insult was a mere trick to prevent further interference, he soon sent over another envoy to interpose between Mary and the scaffold.

In the course of nature James of Scotland, though a less powerful sovereign, ought to have been infinitely more earnest than Henry of France; but James was glad that his own mother should be kept in a captivity which left to him the occupation of the throne;* he was besides always slow and inert; and he may possibly have comforted himself with a doubt whether Elizabeth would really proceed to execution. The King of France certainly thought it necessary to awaken this tender son to a sense of his parent's danger, and about a month after sentence was passed in the Star Chamber he exhorted him by all means to take his mother's part.† On the last day of November, 1586, the French ambassador informed his master that King James had promised to intercede for his mother through his ambassador, Keith, "an honest man, but rather *English*;" that King James had told him, in his oracular way, that the case of the Queen his mother was the most strange that ever was heard of, and that there was nothing like it since the creation of the world; that he had written with his own hand to Elizabeth, and to four or five great men in England, as also to Walsingham, telling the latter, in particular, to desist from his bad offices, for otherwise he, James, might do him some displeasure. "But," con-

* On the 4th of October, 1586, when Elizabeth was preparing her commission for Fotheringay Castle, James told Courcelles, the French ambassador, that he loved his mother as much as nature and duty commanded, but he could not like her conduct, and knew very well that she had no more good-will towards him than towards the Queen of England; adding, among other things, that he had seen letters in her hand-writing, which proved her ill-will towards him, and that he knew very well that she had made frequent attempts to appoint a regent in Scotland, and deprive him of the throne.—*Raumer.*

† Letter from Henry III. to Courcelles, the French ambassador in Scotland.—*Raumer.*

tinues the ambassador, "several lords and great men are dissatisfied that he has sent Keith, a man of so little importance, and a pensionary of England. They say that in an affair of such consequence, in which the life of his mother is concerned, which ought to be as dear to him as his own, might he not have found in his kingdom some others who would have considered the mission as an honour, and would have devoted their lives and property to it, if it had been necessary,—offering, too, to undertake the journey at their own expense? This leads them to imagine that there is some secret understanding with the Queen of England, in which they are further confirmed, because the instructions for Keith were drawn up by the king, Lethington, and Gray, without being communicated to any of the others." At this time James's resident ambassador at Elizabeth's court was the notorious Archibald Douglas — an appointment about equally disgraceful to both courts. There was a talk of sending the new Earl of Bothwell, Francis Stewart,—a grandson of James V. by his natural son John, styled Prior of Coldingham, — an impetuous and frank man, devoted to Mary, to negotiate for her at this extremity; but this project was defeated by the intrigues and artifices of Archibald Douglas. A month later Courcelles complained that the King of Scotland did not seem to have much at heart any embassy in his mother's favour.* The king however made, through Keith, something like a spirited remonstrance, at which Elizabeth was so enraged, that she was well nigh driving her poor pensioner from her presence. James instantly took the alarm, and wrote an humble letter of apology, declaring that he did not impute to her personally or directly the blame of anything that had been done against his mother, and he only besought her to suspend further proceedings until the

* "At all events," says the ambassador, "the king will endeavour to derive advantages for himself. He positively declared that he would not commence war with England, except in case of an attempt to exclude him from the succession to that throne."

arrival of the Master of Gray. At the mention of this name Elizabeth must have been satisfied, for the Master of Gray was a venal scoundrel who had long been in her interests.* There were however some lords in the Scottish council who were more anxious about Mary than was her own son, or who knew the character of the Master of Gray better than James did; and, at the instance of these men, Sir Robert Melville was joined in commission with Gray. Melville exerted himself to the utmost to save the queen's life—Gray assured the English Court that no mischief would ensue from her death. At their first audience Elizabeth declared to them that she was immeasurably sorry that there could be no means found to save the life of their king's mother with assurance of her own—that she had laboured hard to preserve the life of both, but it could not be. At a second audience, the Master of Gray requested to know whether Queen Mary were alive, for a rumour had got abroad that she had been privately despatched. "As yet," replied Elizabeth, "I believe she lives, but I will not promise for an hour." Melville trusted that the poor queen might be allowed to live on, seeing that the chief nobility of Scotland were ready to deliver themselves as hostages that no other plot or enterprise should be made on her account against the English crown; or that, if it pleased Elizabeth to send her into Scotland, King James would engage himself that no harm should ever be done by her or on her account. Elizabeth, turning to the Earl of Leicester and others of her favourite lords, expressed her scorn and contempt both of the King of Scots and these his proposals. She was then asked by the Scottish envoys how the Queen of Scots could really be esteemed so dangerous? "Because she is a papist, and they say she shall succeed to my throne," was the harsh but honest reply of Elizabeth. It was replied that Mary would divest

to s... throne.

* In the preceding month of August Burghley enters in ... y—"A warrant for 2000*l.* delivered to the Master of ...

† Letti... Scotland, to levy certain footmen in Scotland for the ... bassador in... ies."

herself of her right in the English succession in favour of her son. This was an allusion which Elizabeth could never bear, and losing all temper she shrieked, "She hath no such right! She is declared incapable of succeeding!" Upon this it was argued that there was then an end of danger from the papists, and that Mary, being so debarred, could not be so very perilous. But Elizabeth said, that though Mary's right was indeed annulled, the papists still considered it as existing. The rejoinder was inevitable: if the Queen of Scots gave up all right in favour of her son, who was a Protestant, she could never again pretend to claim it, and her renunciation should proceed with consent of friends, and in free and legal form. Leicester explained that the King of Scots would thus be placed, with regard to the succession, in precisely the same position as his mother now occupied. Elizabeth, who hated all successors, Catholic or Protestant, screamed again—"Is that your meaning? Then should I put myself in worse case than before! By God's passion this were to cut mine own throat! He shall never come into that place or be party with me!" Gray replied that the King of Scotland must become party with her Majesty when he succeeded by his mother's death to her claims of every kind. The queen cut short the conference by telling them that it was *she* that had kept the crown on their king's head ever since his infancy. She then turned to leave the room. Sir Robert Melville followed her, tenderly beseeching her to delay the execution. She exclaimed "No! not for an hour!" and disappeared. Upon receiving intelligence of this conference, James assumed for a moment a more becoming tone, and in a letter written with his own hand to the Master of Gray he charged him to spare no pains nor plainness in this case—to be no longer reserved in dealing for his mother, for he had been so too long. But at this moment Gray was bargaining with Leicester and Walsingham, and privately telling Elizabeth that "a dead woman bites not." Walsingham at the same time wrote to James, expressing his surprise at his interference to rescue the mother that bore him from a

bloody grave, and telling him that, as a Protestant prince, he ought to feel that his mother's life was inconsistent with the safety of the reformed churches of England and Scotland. To maintain his dignity James recalled from the English court his ambassadors, who, with the exception of Melville, had sold his mother's blood. And what was the next proceeding of this king the descendant of a hundred kings? Did he call an army to the borders?—No! He issued an order to the Scottish clergy to remember his mother in their public prayers—and the fierce Presbyterians, with very few exceptions, refused to pray for the idolater and papist.

Elizabeth was not wholly without alarm at the recal of the Scottish ambassadors; but James's strange conduct gave her confidence. Still, however, she seemed undecided, and was constantly heard muttering to herself, *Aut fer aut feri: ne feriare feri.** It was again deliberated in the cabinet, whether it would not be better to dispose of Mary secretly. At this moment Walsingham, who had managed the whole matter† very prudently, got up a fit of sickness, and, withdrawing from the court, left the after responsibility to fall on Secretary Davison. Shortly after receiving the petition of parliament to carry the sentence into execution, Elizabeth had caused the Lord Treasurer Burghley to draw out the death warrant. Burghley gave this warrant to Davison to get it engrossed, ordering him to bring it for the queen's signature as soon as it was done. When Davison presented the warrant to Elizabeth, she commanded him to reserve it till a more convenient season.‡ He accordingly kept it by

* Either bear with her, or smite her; strike, lest thou be stricken.

† It is remarkable that Burghley in his diary never makes an allusion to any of these proceedings. The Babington conspiracy, the trial of Mary, the negotiations to save her life, her execution, are all passed over without a word. He only notes down that Sir Walter Raleigh got Babington's lands by royal grant.

‡ The Scotch and French ambassadors were then interceding for Mary's life.

him five or six weeks, during which time Leicester severely reprimanded him for not presenting it, and Burghley once reproved him in Elizabeth's hearing for not bringing it up. On the 1st of February, a few days after the departure of James's ambassadors, Davison was sent for *privately*, to bring the warrant that the queen might sign it. At this very time, to keep up the alarm, reports were spread all over the kingdom, that London was set on fire by the papists, that the Duke of Guise was landed, that Mary had escaped, that Queen Elizabeth was murdered. The Protestants became almost frantic; and still further to prolong the illusion, a hue and cry was published by order of government for the apprehension of Mary, as if she had really broken the strong walls of Fotheringay Castle. This time, when Davison presented the warrant, Elizabeth, after reading it, called for pen and ink, signed it, and laid it down by her upon the mats, telling him that she had been induced to delay, out of regard to her own reputation, wishing it to appear that she had not violently adopted the measure from any feeling of malice or revenge towards the Queen of Scots. After some flippant discourse, some smiles, and some irony, she told the secretary to take up the warrant and carry it immediately to the great seal, cautioning him to get it sealed as *privately as possible*, as she entertained suspicions of persons about the lord chancellor, and feared that, if the warrant were divulged before it was executed, it might increase her own personal danger. She expressly commanded him to use despatch, and to send down the warrant to Fotheringay Castle without troubling her again on the subject, or letting her hear anything more about it until it was executed. Davison offered to go to the chancellor forthwith, but she commanded him to wait till the evening. She desired him on his way to call on Walsingham, who had taken to his bed, and to tell him that she had signed the warrant; "because," as she said, jestingly, "the grief he will feel on learning it will nearly kill him outright." Davison was leaving the apartment, when she began a complaint against Sir

Amyas Pawlet and others, who, as she said, might have rendered the signing the warrant unnecessary; and she expressed a wish or a hint that Davison or Walsingham might yet write both to Sir Amyas and Sir Drew Drury, in order to sound their disposition as to privately despatching the Queen of Scots! Davison, who had always shrunk from the secret murder, assured her that it would be merely labour lost; but, finding her extremely desirous to have such a letter written to the two gaolers, he says that, to satisfy her, he promised to signify her pleasure, and then took his leave. On his way from the royal apartment the secretary called upon Burghley, and found him at home, closeted with Leicester: he showed his warrant, and they both enjoined him to use despatch and neglect all other business. Later in the day he called upon Walsingham, showed the warrant, and arranged with him the matter of a letter to Sir Amyas Pawlet and Sir Drew Drury. He then proceeded to the lord chancellor's, where, when it was almost dark, at about five o'clock in the evening, the great seal was put to the warrant. From the chancellor's he returned to Walsingham's, and found the letter ready to be despatched. According to this damnable document, though Walsingham and Davison recoiled themselves from secret assassination, they were capable, at their mistress's command, of recommending it to others. They told Sir Amyas Pawlet that they found by speech lately uttered by her majesty, that she doth note in them both (Pawlet and Drury) a lack of that care and zeal that she looked for at their hands, in that they had not in all this time, of themselves, without other provocation, found out some way *to shorten the life of that queen.* "Wherein," continue Walsingham and Davison, "besides a kind of lack of love towards her, she noteth greatly that you have not that care of your own particular safeties, or rather of the preservation of religion and the public good, and prosperity of your country, that reason and policy commandeth, especially having so good a warrant and ground for the satisfaction of your conscience towards God, and the discharge of your credit and reputation towards the

world, *as the oath of association* which you both have so solemnly taken and vowed, and especially the matter wherewith she standeth charged being so clearly and manifestly proved against her. And therefore she taketh it most unkindly towards her, that men professing that love towards her that you do, should, in any kind of sort, for lack of the discharge of your duties, cast the burden upon *her;* knowing, as you do, her indisposition to shed blood, especially of one of that sex and quality, and so near to her in blood as the said queen is." Upon leaving Walsingham, Davison went to his own house in London, where he slept. The next morning, about ten o'clock (no very early hour for those times), Elizabeth sent for him, and asked whether the warrant had passed the great seal: he informed her that it had. She asked why he had used such haste? Davison replied, that he had used no more haste than she had commanded; and in one of his narratives he observes, that, as twenty-four hours had elapsed since she had given him orders to get the warrant sealed, she could not suppose that he had not obeyed her commands. He asked her whether it was still her intention to proceed with the affair, and she replied that it was, though she thought it might have been better handled, because this present course threw the whole burden upon herself. Davison observed, that he knew not who else could bear it, seeing her laws made it murder in any man to take the life of the meanest subject in her kingdom, except by her warrant. She abruptly broke into a great commendation of Archibald Douglas, the worthy kinsman of Morton, and wished that she had but two such counsellors. Seeing that Davison took little notice of that discourse, she rose up and walked a turn or two in the chamber: then one of the ladies enterta ed her with some other discourse, and he left her for that time. He went down to Sir Christopher Hatton, the vice-chamberlain, and told that courtier what had passed, adding, that he feared it was the queen's intention to throw this burden from herself if she could; "remembering him how things had passed in the case of the Duke of Norfolk, the imputation of

whose death she laid heavily upon my lord treasurer Burghley for divers years together." In the end, Davison says, he told Hatton plainly, that, notwithstanding the directions she had given him for sending down the warrant to the commissioners (which haply she thought he would adventure for her safety and service), he was absolutely resolved not to meddle in it *alone*. Hatton agreed to accompany him instantly to the lord treasurer. Burghley approved of Davison's resolution not to proceed singly, and agreed to submit the matter to the whole of the privy council. In the mean time he desired that the warrant might be put into his hands, and Davison, in the presence of Hatton, delivered it to Burghley, who kept it till it was sent away to Fotheringay. The next morning, the 3rd of February, Burghley assembled the council in his own chamber, and they unanimously consented to have the execution hastened, "knowing how much it imported both to themselves and the whole realm, and having so clear a testimony of her majesty's pleasure as her own warrant under her hand and great seal of England." They also expressed their unwillingness to trouble her majesty any further on the subject; and then calling for Mr. Beale, the clerk of the council, as the fittest person, they deliberately gave him the death-warrant and letters of instruction to the commissioners.* On the following morning Davison went to court, where he found her majesty in conversation with Sir Walter Raleigh. She presently called Davison to her, and, as if she had understood nothing of these proceedings (the meeting of her whole council, the writing of the letters, &c.), she said to him smilingly, that "the overnight she had dreamt a dream, that the Queen of Scots was executed, and that she had been in her dream

* In one of the letters which were addressed to the Earl of Kent, and which was signed by Burghley, the Earl of Derby, Leicester, Charles Howard, Hunsdon, Cobham, Francis Knollys, Hatton, Walsingham, and Davison, it was said that his lordship (Kent) would understand by the bearer how needful it was to have the proceedings herein to be kept very secret.

so angry against him therefore, that she could have done anything to him." At first the secretary treated this as a jest, for her majesty was "so pleasant and smiling." But Davison knew his mistress;—a moment's reflection excited an uncomfortable doubt—and he asked whether, having proceeded so far, she had not a resolute intention to execute the sentence. She answered yes, and swore a great oath, but said that she thought it might have been done in another way; and she asked him whether he had not heard from Sir Amyas Pawlet. Hereupon Davison produced Pawlet's answer to the infamous epistle which he and Walsingham had written. It appeared that Pawlet, though an unfeeling bigot, had some conscience, which was, however, no doubt quickened by his fear of consequences in this world. In great grief and bitterness of mind he deplored being so unhappy as to have lived to see this unhappy day, in which he was required, by direction from his most gracious sovereign, to do an act which God and the law forbade. His goods, his life were at her majesty's disposal; he was ready to lose them the next morrow if it should so please her, but God forbid that he should make so foul a shipwreck of his conscience, or leave so great a blot to his posterity, as to shed blood without law and warrant. Elizabeth then called Pawlet, lately her "dear and faithful Pawlet," a "precise and dainty fellow;" and waxing still more wrathful, she accused him and others, who had taken the oath of association, of perjury and breach of faith, they having all promised and vowed great things for her, and performing nothing. She said, however, that there were some who would do the thing for her sake, and she named one Wingfield, who with some others would have done it. Upon which Davison once more insisted on the injustice and dishonour of secret assassination, and upon the great danger which would have been brought upon Pawlet and Drury if they had consented. On the 7th of February, at the very moment when the walls of Fotheringay Castle were echoing with the noise made by the workmen in erecting Mary's scaffold, Elizabeth began an earnest con-

versation with Davison, on the danger in which she lived, telling him that it was more than time that the affair was concluded, swearing a great oath, and commanding him to write a sharp letter to Sir Amyas Pawlet. The secretary, being "somewhat jealous of her drift," cautiously replied, that he imagined such letter was unnecessary. She then said that she thought, indeed, Sir Amyas would look for it; and then one of her ladies entering to inquire her majesty's pleasure as to what should be had for dinner, she suddenly broke off the conversation and dismissed Davison, who never saw her face again.*

On this same day the arrival of the Earl of Shrewsbury at Fotheringay Castle was announced to Mary, who knew what it meant, as Shrewsbury was Earl Marshal. He was attended by the Earls of Kent, Cumberland, and Derby, by one or two ministers of the gospel, and by Beale, the clerk of the council. Mary rose from her bed, dressed herself, sat down by a small table, with her servants, male and female, arranged on each side of her. Then the door was thrown open and the Earls entered, and Beale proceeded to read the death-warrant. When Beale had done reading, the queen crossed herself, and with great composure told them, that she was ready for death—that death was most welcome to her, though she had hardly thought that, after keeping her twenty years in a prison, her sister Elizabeth would so dispose of her. She then laid her hand on a book which was by her, and solemnly protested that as for the death of the queen, their sovereign, she had never imagined it, never sought it, never consented to it. The Earl of Kent, who seems to have thought that the value of an oath depended upon the book that was touched, rudely exclaimed, "That is a popish bible, and therefore your oath is of no value." "It is a Catholic testament," replied the queen, "and therefore, my lord, as I believe that to be the true version, my oath is the more to be relied upon." The

* Sir Harris Nicolas, Life of William Davison, and the unquestionable documents quoted therein.

Earl of Kent then made a long discourse, advising her to lay aside her superstitious follies and idle trumperies of popery, to embrace the true faith, and to accept in her last agonies the spiritual services of the Dean of Peterborough, a very learned and devout divine, whom her majesty had mercifully appointed to attend upon her. Mary rejected the dean, and asked again for her own chaplain. Here the Earl of Kent told her that her death would be the life of *his* religion, as her life would have been its death. He refused her the attendance of her chaplain and confessor, as being contrary to the law of God and the law of the land, and dangerous to themselves. After some long and desultory conversation, in which she put the touching question, whether it were possible that her only son could have forgotten his mother, she calmly turned to the Earl Marshal, and asked when she was to suffer. Greatly agitated, the Earl of Shrewsbury replied, "To-morrow morning at eight." The earls then rose to depart. Before they went, she inquired whether her late secretary Naue were dead or alive. Sir Drew Drury replied, that he was alive in prison. "I protest before God," she exclaimed, putting her hand again on the Catholic testament, "that Naue has brought me to the scaffold to save his own life. But the truth will be known hereafter." Then they all withdrew, leaving the doomed queen alone with her attendants. Presently she bade them dry their tears, and gave orders that supper might be hastened, "for that she had a deal of business on her hands." That night she supped very sparingly, as her manner was, and while she sat at table, she asked one who waited upon her, whether the force of truth was not great, since, notwithstanding the pretence of her conspiring against the queen's life, the Earl of Kent had just told her that she must die for the security of *their religion!* When supper was over, having called her servants before her to the table, she drank to them all, and they pledged her in return upon their knees, mixing tears with their wine, and imploring her pardon for any offences they might have committed against her. She

forgave them, and asked forgiveness of them, and then delivered some Christian advice as to their future conduct in life. She then distributed the few things she had among them, and retired to her chamber, where she wrote with her own hand two sheets of paper as her last will, and three letters, one to her confessor, one to the King of France, and the other to her cousin the Duke of Guise. This done, she prayed and read alternately till four o'clock in the morning, when she threw herself upon her bed and slept.

At break of day she rose, assembled her little household, read to them her will, distributed all her clothes, except those which she had put on, bade them farewell, and retiring to her oratory threw herself upon her knees before an altar. About eight o'clock the sheriff of the county entered the oratory and told her that the hour was come. She rose, took down the crucifix, and turned to take the last few steps which were between her and the grave. She came forth with an air of pleasantness and majesty, dressed in a gown of black satin, with a veil of lawn fastened to her caul and descending to the ground. Her chaplet was fixed to her girdle, and she kept in her right hand the ivory crucifix which she had taken from the altar. In an ante-chamber she was joined by the noble lords and the two knights who had been her hard keepers, and presently she found standing in her path her house steward Sir Robert Melville, who had been denied access to her for the last three weeks. This old and faithful creature fell upon his knees before her, and with a passion of tears lamented his hard fate which would make him the bearer of such sorrowful news into Scotland. And when he could proceed no further, by reason of his sobs, the queen said to him, "Good Melville, cease to lament, but rather rejoice, for thou shalt now see a final period to Mary Stuart's troubles. The world, my servant, is all but vanity and subject to more sorrow th. an ocean of tears can wash away. But, I pray thee, tal this message when thou goest, that I die true to my rel gion, to Scotland, and to France. God forgive them th have thirsted for my blood as the hart longeth for tl

water brooks! Commend me to my son, and tell him I have done nothing to prejudice the kingdom of Scotland." Old Melville still wept; the queen wept also, and kissing him said, "Once more farewell, good Melville; pray for thy mistress and queen." She then addressed herself to the lords, requesting them to treat her servants with kindness, and permit them to stand by her at her death. To the last request the Earl of Kent objected as inconvenient, saying that it was to be feared that they would be troublesome to her majesty and unpleasing to the company—that if they were present at the execution they would not fail, as papists all, to put some superstitious trumpery in practice; and perhaps there would be a dipping of handkerchiefs in her grace's blood, which it was not decent in them, the protestant lords, to admit of. "My lords," said Mary, "I will give you my word they shall deserve no blame, nor do such things as you mention; but, poor souls, it would do them good to see the last of their mistress; and I hope your mistress, as a maiden queen, would not deny me, in regard of womanhood, to have some of my women about me at my death. Surely you might grant a greater favour than this, though I were a woman of less rank than the Queen of Scots." Kent was silent; and the other lords did not choose to take the responsibility of granting what was asked. Mary then said, with some vehemence, "Am I not cousin to your queen, descended from the royal blood of Henry VII., a married Queen of France, and anointed Queen of Scotland?" At length, after much consultation, the lords determined to comply in part; and Melville, her steward, her apothecary and surgeon, and two of her maids, named Kennedy and Curle, were allowed to attend her to the scaffold. The procession now moved forward to the great hall of the castle, headed by the sheriff and his officers. In the hall stood the scaffold, which was raised about three feet from the ground, and covered all over with black cloth with rails around it. Upon the scaffold there was a low stool, a cushion, and a block, all covered with black. The queen mounted the scaffold without any change of coun-

tenance or any faltering, and took her place upon the stool. On her right hand stood the Earl of Kent, on her left the Earl of Shrewsbury; the rest of the company, which, by Elizabeth's orders, consisted of very few persons, stood in the hall without the rails. Immediately in front of her was the headsman from the Tower, in a suit of black velvet, with his assistant also in black. The warrant was read by Mr. Beale; when it was ended the company cried with a loud voice, "God save Queen Elizabeth!" All the time Beale was reading the warrant the Queen of Scots looked cheerful and easy. At the end of it, she bade them recollect she was a sovereign princess not subject to the laws and parliament of England, but brought to suffer by injustice and violence: she declared again that she had not sought Elizabeth's death, and said that she pardoned from her heart all her enemies. Here the Dean of Peterborough stood up, and, interrupting her, began a long discourse upon her life, past, present, and to come. The queen stayed him once or twice, saying, "Mr. Dean, trouble not yourself, I am fixed in the ancient religion, and, by God's grace, I will shed my blood for it." The dean would not be silenced: he still pressed her to change her faith; he told her that his gracious mistress was very careful of the welfare of her immortal soul, and had commissioned him to bring her to the only right path. If she would recant even now there might be hopes of mercy; if she refused she must inevitably be damned to all eternity. "Good Mr. Dean," answered Mary, with more earnestness than before, "trouble not yourself about this matter: I was born in this religion, I have lived in this religion, and I will die in this religion." So saying she turned aside from him; but the dean, who was never surpassed by the fiercest Dominican that ever tortured a dying Protestant, Albigensis, Lollard, Hussite, or Huguenot, turning round the scaffold, again faced her, and again thundered out his sermon. But at last the Earl of Shrewsbury ordered him to cease preaching and proceed to pray: and whilst the dean prayed in English, Mary prayed alone in Latin, repeating the penitential psalms with great warmth of

devotion. When the dean had done she prayed in English for the church, her son, and Queen Elizabeth. She then kissed her crucifix, saying, "As thy arms, O Jesu, were stretched upon the cross, so receive me, O God, into the arms of mercy!" "Madam," said the Earl of Kent (a fit patron and companion to such a dean), who was horrified at her kissing the crucifix, "you had better put such popish trumpery out of your hand and carry Christ in your heart." Mary replied, "I can hardly bear this emblem in my hand without, at the same time, bearing him in my heart." The two executioners then came forward, and, kneeling before her, asked forgiveness. Her women began to perform their last office, disrobing their mistress; but the headsmen were in a hurry and interfered, pulling off with their own rude hands a part of her attire; upon which she observed to the earls that she was not used to be undressed by such attendants, or to put off her clothes before so much company. Here her servants could no longer contain their feelings, but she put her finger to her lips, kissed them again, and bade them pray for her. Then the maid, Kennedy, took a handkerchief, edged with gold, in which the eucharist had formerly been enclosed, and fastened it over her eyes. The executioner led her to the block, and the queen, kneeling on the cushion before it, said, with a clear and unquailing voice, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit!" But the headsman's nerves were not in such good order; he probably entertained the notions of the times about the sacredness of royal blood, and he was disturbed by the groans and lamentations of Mary's servants; perhaps of all present, except Kent and the dean. He trembled, and struck so badly that it cost him three strokes to cut the neck asunder. At last, when the head had fallen on the scaffold, he took it up, and holding it at arm's length, exclaimed officially, "God save Queen Elizabeth!" The Dean of Peterborough added, "Thus perish all her enemies!" The Earl of Kent, approaching the headless body, cried in a louder voice, "So perish all the enemies of the queen and gospel!" Everybody else was

silent; not a voice said Amen to the dean and the earl. The queen's little lap-dog was observed to have crept under her clothes, and would not be removed till force was used, and afterwards it would not leave the body, but went and lay down between the head and shoulders.*

On the morning after the execution a despatch arrived at court from the Earl of Shrewsbury. The despatch was carried by Mr. Henry Talbot, Shrewsbury's son; and Burghley, to whom it was delivered, immediately sent for Davison, and after consulting Hatton and some other privy counsellors, he agreed not to acquaint the queen suddenly with the execution. But by the hour of noon the report was spread in the city, where the Protestants testified their exceeding great joy by ringing all the church bells and lighting bonfires. It was impossible that Elizabeth could remain ignorant of these things; she learned all the particulars in the evening, but did not then take the least notice of the event, "nor show any alteration at all." On the next morning, when she was officially informed of the execution, she sent for Sir Christopher Hatton, and with an appearance of wonderful grief, declared that she had never commanded or intended *that thing*, and laid the whole blame on the privy council, but chiefly on Davison, who had abused the trust she had reposed in him by allowing the warrant to go out of his hands. Davison hurried to court fearing no evil, as the whole of the privy council had acted with him in the matter; but the counsellors, who knew that there must be a victim, strongly advised him to absent himself from court for a few days. Poor Davison took their advice, and on the 14th of February he was shut up in the Tower. At the same time the queen turned the engines of her pretended wrath against Burghley, who was struck with alarm, and withdrew to his own house for many days, whence he wrote the most humil ating letters to his mistress. The day after the arrest c Davison, Walsingham, who had recovered from his illnes.

* Jebb.—Camden.—Conn.—Saunderson.—Robertson.—Chalmers.—Walter Scott.

at the very nick of time, returned to court, where for some weeks he had the principal management of affairs in his own hands. One of his first duties appears to have been to devise a message to the French king, assuring him of her majesty's ignorance of the sending of the warrant, her sorrow at the execution, and her determination to punish her ministers. But soon Burghley and the rest emerged from this artificial mist, and only William Davison was made a scapegoat or sacrifice, being condemned to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, and be imprisoned during the queen's pleasure. The poor secretary suffered miserably from imprisonment, palsy, and utter poverty, for the treasury seized all his property to pay the fine; and thus he lived through the seventeen long years to which the remainder of Elizabeth's reign was drawn out.

Some weeks after the execution of Mary, Sir Robert Carew, son of her relative, Lord Hundson, was despatched by Elizabeth to make her excuses to King James for the murder of his mother. On first learning the news, it is said that the royal dastard and pedant burst into tears, and threatened to move heaven and earth for vengeance. In the letter presented by Sir Robert Carew, Elizabeth told James of the unutterable grief which she felt on account of that "unhappy accident" which, *without her knowledge*, had happened in England. She appealed to the supreme Judge of heaven and earth for her innocence; said she abhorred *dissimulation*—that she had never intended to carry the sentence into execution—that she was punishing those who had frustrated her merciful intentions; and she added that, as no one loved him more dearly than herself, or bore a more anxious concern for his welfare, she trusted that he would consider every one as his own enemy who endeavoured, on account of the *present accident*, to excite any animosity between them. All James's mighty wrath soon evaporated, and he sat down quiet and contented, with an increase of the pension which Elizabeth had long been paying him, and with a hope that his dutiful conduct would clear all obstructions to his suc-

cession to the English throne on the death of its present occupant.

Circumstances and her own happy arts went equally in Elizabeth's favour in disarming the resentment of France. She made a public apology to the ambassador L'Aubespine for the harsh treatment he had received, took him by the hand to a corner of the room, told him that the greatest of calamities had befallen her, and swore sundry great oaths that she was innocent of Mary's death. Four of her council, she said, had played her a trick: they were old and faithful servants, or by God she would have all their heads off! She said that what troubled her most of all was the displeasure of the king his master, whom she honoured above all men. L'Aubespine remarked that she had all along given assistance to the enemies and revolted subjects of France. Here she drew a nice distinction, saying that she had done nothing against Henry, but had only assisted the King of Navarre against the Duke of Guise. But the civil war continued to rage in France, and Henry III. was soon glad to have her countenance to the murder of the Guises. If that unhappy family were bigots and persecutors and chief directors of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, they certainly found no faith or mercy themselves. In December, 1588, Henry III. secretly distributed forty-five daggers to as many assassins in the castle of Blois: the Duke of Guise, Queen Mary's cousin, who had been invited as a guest, was set upon and murdered at the door of the king's chamber. On the morrow his brother, the cardinal, was assassinated in a like barbarous manner; and the Protestants were only prevented from making public rejoicings at their fall by the better sense and feeling of their great leader, Du Plessis Mornay. The Catholics became more fierce and formidable than ever, the pope launched the sentence of excommunication, the doctors of the Sorbonne released the subjects from their oath of allegiance, and a few months after, as Henry was laying siege to his own capital, he was assassinated by a fanatic monk named Jacque. Clement.

King Philip of Spain, who was exasperated to the extreme by the bold and brilliant expeditions of Drake and others to the West Indies, was in a different position from that of the French and Scottish king; and making the most of the recent tragedy at Fotheringay Castle, he branded Elizabeth as a murderer, and animated his people with a desire of vengeance. She on her side made some politic efforts to disarm his resentment. Leicester, who had returned to Holland, soon became an object of contempt. She recalled him, allowed the Hollanders to put Prince Maurice of Orange in his stead, and then seemed very well disposed to give up the Protestant cause in the Netherlands. She kept the precautionary towns, as they were called, and greatly did the Netherlanders fear that she would sell these keys of their dominions to the Spanish king. Burghley opened negotiations with Spain, and two foreign merchants, an Italian and a Fleming, were intrusted with a secret mission to the Duke of Parma, who still maintained himself in the Netherlands. But Elizabeth and her ministers soon saw that no sacrifices they could make would disarm the animosity of the Spaniards, and every wind brought them news of immense naval and military preparations in Spain and Portugal.* While the queen continued to negotiate, Sir Francis Drake was despatched with a fleet of 30 sail, and ordered to destroy all the Spanish ships he could find in their own harbours. Never was a commission more ably or more boldly executed. On the 19th of April (1587) he dashed into Cadiz roads, and burnt, sunk, or took 30 ships. He then turned back along the coast, and between Cadiz bay and Cape St. Vincent, he sunk, took, or burned 100 vessels, besides knocking down four castles on the coast. From Cape St. Vincent he sailed to the Tagus, where he challenged the Marquis Santa Cruz, and took, almost under the shadow of his flag, the St. Philip, a ship of the largest size. These operations materially tended to delay the sailing of the Spanish Armada for more than a-year, and allowed Elizabeth time to prepare for her defence. But Philip, whose

* Hardwicke State Papers.

power on the whole had increased rather than diminished since the first commencement of his enmity with Elizabeth—for if he had lost Holland he had annexed Portugal to his dominions—was not to be put from his purpose of invading England. He obtained from the pope supplies of money and a renewal of the bull of excommunication against Elizabeth. He levied troops in all directions, he hired ships from the republic of Genoa and Venice, he took up all the proper vessels possessed by his subjects of Naples and Sicily, he pressed the construction of others in Spain, in Portugal, and in that part of Flanders which still belonged to him, where shoals of flat-bottomed boats were prepared for the transport of the Duke of Parma and 30,000 men. Through parsimony, the whole royal navy of England did not, at this moment, exceed 36 sail, but merchant ships were fitted out by the nobles and people at their own expense, and armed for war, and Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, names scarcely eclipsed by all the heroes who have succeeded them—men who had lived their lives on the ocean, and girdled the globe in their daring expeditions—the best seamen of the age, were appointed to the command under the high admiral, Lord Howard of Effingham. The entire number of ships collected on this critical occasion was 191; the number of seamen was 17,400, the total amount of tonnage being 31,985.* The Dutch were applied to for their assistance, "and," says Stowe, "they came roundly in with three score sail, brave ships of war, fierce, and full of spleen." The fleet was distributed at various points, for it could not be known where the enemy would attempt their landing. The lord admiral, who guarded the western coast, divided his force into three squadrons. Drake was detached towards Ushant to keep a look-out; Hawkins cruised between the Land's End

* Southey's Naval History.—In the Armada there w only three ships of size superior to the Triumph, the larg of the English ships; but there were 45 ships ranging fr 600 to 1000 tons; and though the English fleet outnumbe the Armada, its entire tonnage was less than one-half of t of the enemy.

and Scilly Islands; Lord Henry Seymour cruised along the coast of Flanders, blocking up the Spanish ports there; and other captains constantly scoured the Channel.

As it was given out that the Spaniards intended to sail up the river and strike their first blow at London, both sides of the Thames were fortified, under the direction of Federico Giambelli, an Italian deserter from the Spanish service. Gravesend was strongly fortified, and a vast number of barges were collected there, for the double purpose of serving as a bridge for the passage of horse and foot between Kent and Essex, and for blocking up the river to the invaders. At Tilbury fort, directly opposite to Gravesend, a great camp was formed. Nor was there less stir and activity inland. There was not a corner of England which did not ring with preparation, and muster its armed force. The maritime counties, from Cornwall to Kent, and from Kent to Lincolnshire, were furnished with soldiers, both of themselves and with the auxiliary militia of the neighbouring shires, so that, upon any spot where a landing might be effected, within the space of forty-eight hours an army of twenty thousand men could be assembled. The Catholics vied with the Protestants in activity, in zeal, in patriotism; and as their gentlemen of rank were generally excluded from command by the jealousies of the Protestants, although the lord admiral himself, Lord Howard of Effingham, was a Catholic, they served in the ranks like common soldiers, or they embarked in the ships to do the work of common sailors. This grand fact ought to have proved to the queen how ungrounded had been her fears, how uselessly she had drenched herself in blood;—it ought to have put down from that day forward the persecution which she exercised, or permitted to be exercised, from political motives, against her Catholic subjects; but, alas! it was not so. When the lord-lieutenants of the different counties returned their numbers, it was found that there were under arms 130,000 men, exclusive of the levies furnished by the city of London. The force assembled at Tilbury Fort consisted of 22,000 foot and 2000 horse, and between them and London were 28,000

men levied for the protection of her majesty's person, commanded by her kinsman Lord Hunsdon, and 10,000 Londoners. A confident hope was entertained that the fleet would be able to prevent any disembarkation, but it was provided, in case of a landing, that the country should be laid waste, and the invaders harassed by incessant attacks. The queen never shone to more advantage that at this warlike crisis, and though she kept her person between the capital and the near camp at Tilbury Fort, the fame of her brave deportment and her encouraging words were spread everywhere. She reviewed the Londoners, whose enthusiasm was boundless; and when the arrival of the Armada was daily expected, she reviewed the army at Tilbury Fort, riding a war-horse, wearing armour on her back, and carrying a marshal's truncheon in her hand. The Earls of Essex and Leicester held her bridle-rein, while she delivered a stirring speech to the men. "My loving people," said the queen, "we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear! I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects; and, therefore, I am come amongst you at this time, not as for my recreation and sport, but being resolved in the midst and heat of the battle to live or die amongst you all—to lay down for my God, for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour, and my blood, even in the dust. I know that I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms!"* Everything in this camp speech was exciting and appropriate except a laudation bestowed the general; for her lieutenant was none other than t

* Cabala.

carpet-knight and most inefficient commander, the Earl of Leicester

It had been arranged by the Spanish court that the Armada should leave Lisbon in the beginning of May, but the Marquis de Santa Cruz was then sinking under the fever of which he died; and, by a singular fatality, the Duke of Paliano, the vice-admiral, and an excellent officer, fell sick and died nearly at the same time. Philip found a difficulty in replacing these two commanders. After some delay he gave the supreme command to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who, instead of being the best sailor in Spain, was no sailor at all, and wholly ignorant of maritime affairs. Martinez de Recaldo, who was appointed vice-admiral, was, however, a seaman of good experience. At last, the INVINCIBLE ARMADA, as the Spaniards called it in their pride, set sail from the Tagus on the 29th of May. It consisted at this time of about 130 vessels of all sizes; 45 of these were galleons and larger ships; 25 were pink-built ships; 13 were frigates. They mounted altogether 2431 guns of different calibres. In addition to the mariners, they carried nearly 20,000 land troops, among whom were 2000 volunteers of the noblest families in Spain. But this mighty fleet, when steering towards Coruña, where it was to take on board more troops and stores, was overtaken, off Finisterre, by a great tempest, and dispersed. Four large ships foundered at sea; the rest reached Coruña and other ports on that coast, but considerably damaged by the storm. This occasioned a fresh delay, which, however, might have proved fatal rather than favourable if Elizabeth's advice had been followed by her brave commanders. A report reached London that the enemies' ships had suffered so much that they could not possibly proceed on their expedition this year; and as the cost of the English fleet was great (though the government only bore a part of it), the queen, from motives of economy, made Secretary Walsingham write to the admiral to tell him to lay up four of his largest ships, and discharge their crews. But Lord Howard of Effingham nobly replied to this letter, that, rather than dismantle any of his

ships, he would take upon him to disobey his mistress, and keep them afloat at his own charge. The admiral now called a council of war, wherein it was determined to sail for the Spanish coast to complete the destruction of the Armada, if so disabled, or to ascertain at all events its real condition. A brisk north wind soon carried him to Coruña, whither he chased before him fourteen Spanish ships which were at sea. Having ascertained the truth, he became anxious to return, lest a part of their fleet might make the coast of England in his absence. Favoured by a change of wind, he soon reached his station at Plymouth, where he allowed his men a little relaxation on shore. On the 19th of July, one Fleming, a Scottish pirate or privateer, sailed into Plymouth, with intelligence that he had seen the Spanish fleet off the Lizard. At the moment most of the captains and officers were on shore playing bowls on the Hoe. There was an instant bustle, and a calling for the ships' boats, but Drake insisted that the match should be played out, as there was plenty of time both to win the game and beat the Spaniards. Unfortunately the wind was blowing hard in their teeth, but they contrived to warp out their ships. On the following day, being Saturday, the 20th of July, they got a full sight of the Armada standing majestically on—the vessels being drawn up in the form of a crescent, which, from horn to horn, measured some seven miles. Their great height and bulk, though imposing to the unskilled, gave confidence to the English seamen, who reckoned at once upon having the advantage in tacking and manœuvring their lighter craft. At first it was expected that the Spaniards might attempt a landing at Plymouth, but the Duke de Medina adhered to the plan which had been prescribed to him, and which was to steer quite through the Channel till he should reach the coast of Flanders, where he was to raise t blockade of the harbours of Nieuport and Dunkir maintained by the English and Dutch, make a junctio with the Duke of Parma, and bring that prince's for with him to England. Lord Howard let him pass, a then followed in his rear avoiding coming to close qu

ters, and watching with a vigilant eye for any lucky accident that might arise from cross winds or irregular sailing. And soon a part of the Spanish fleet was left considerably astern by the main division, where the Duke of Medina kept up a press of sail, as if he had no other object in view than to get through the Channel as fast as possible. He made signals to the slower ships to keep up, which they could not, and he still kept every sail bent. The Disdain, a pinnace, commanded by Jonas Bradbury, now commenced an attack by pouring a broadside into one of the laggards. Lord Howard, in his own ship, the Ark Royal, engaged a great Spanish galleon, and Drake, in the Revenge, Hawkins in the Victory, and Frobisher, in the Triumph, ranging up gallantly, brought into action all the galleons which had fallen astern. The rear-admiral Recaldo was with this division, and fought it bravely; but his lumbering ships lay like logs on the water in comparison with the lighter vessels of England, which were manageable and in hand like well-trained steeds. Before any assistance could come from the van, one of the great Spaniards was completely crippled, and another—a treasure-ship with 55,000 ducats aboard—was taken by Drake, who distributed the money amongst the sailors. The Duke of Medina hove-to, till the slower ships came up, and then all of them, under press of sail, stood farther up the Channel. This first brush gave great spirit to the English, and there were in it several encouraging circumstances. It was seen, for example, that the tall Spanish ships could not bring their ordnance to bear, firing, for the greater part, over the English without touching them; and that the surer fire of the latter told with terrific effect on those huge ships crammed with men, soldiers, and sailors. Howard returned towards Plymouth, where he was to be joined by forty sail. In the course of the night one of the greatest of the Spanish ships was burned, purposely, it is said, by a Flemish gunner on board. It was a dark night with a heavy sea, and some of the Spaniards ran foul of each other, to their great mischief.

On the 23rd, Howard, who was reinforced, and who

had received into his division Sir Walter Raleigh, came up with the whole Armada off Portland, when a battle began, which lasted nearly the whole of that day. The English fought loose and at large, avoiding a close combat or boarding. They kept separate, but always in motion, tacking and playing about the enemy, pouring in their fire and then sheering out of range, returning before the Spaniards had time to reload, giving them another broadside, and then sheering off as before. According to Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Henry Wotton compared it all to a morrice-dance upon the waters! But once or twice the dying away of the wind rendered these manœuvres impracticable. A division of five merchantmen, led by the gallant Frobisher in his great ship the Triumph, was cut off from the rest, and brought to close action for two whole hours. But, at the same time, one of the English squadrons cut off a division of the Armada, and crippled every ship in it. Then Howard, from the Ark Royal, signalized, and this victorious squadron, by means of sweepers and tow-boats, was brought into position to the rescue of Frobisher. These victorious ships reserved their fire till they were close alongside the Spaniards. The darkness of night interrupted the battle: in the course of the day the English had taken a large Venetian argosy and several transports. Next day the Spaniards showed small inclination to renew the fight; and it was apparent that they wished to hold on to the place appointed for their junction with the Duke of Parma. The English, on their side, were not in fighting condition, for, by a shameful parsimony, they had been poorly supplied with gunpowder, and by this time they had burnt all they had on board. Howard, however, detached some barques and pinnaces which returned with a supply towards night; but a day had been lost. On the morning of the 25th, he came up with part the Armada, off the Isle of Wight, where Capt Hawkins took a large Portuguese galleon. Presentl fell a calm: the great ships of Spain lay motionless u the water, and were much too heavy to be towed. T English craft, of the lighter kind, were easily towed

their long boats. When a breeze sprung up, Frobisher was set upon by several galleons, and was in great peril, but the White Bear and the Elizabeth Jonas came up to his relief. Other ships ranged up on either side, and the battle seemed becoming general, but the English had *again burnt all their gunpowder!* Having shot away the mainmast, and otherwise shattered the Duke of Medina's own ship, they took advantage of the wind and sheered off.

On the morrow, the 26th of July, the Armada sailed up the Channel with a fair breeze: Howard hung on their rear, now and then keeping up a feeble fire. He had resolved not to renew the struggle till they came to the Straits of Dover, for he knew that a strong squadron, under Lord Henry Seymour and Sir Thomas Winter, would be ready there to take part in the action. As he followed in the wake of the Spaniards, he received ammunition and all proper supplies from shore; and his force was continually increased by small ships and men out of all the havens of the realm; for the gentlemen of England hired ships from all parts at their own charge, and with one accord came flocking thither. There was a clear sky and a leading wind, which enabled the Spaniards to come to anchor before Calais on the 27th. Hence Medina Sidonia would have proceeded to Dunkirk, but he was strongly advised to remain where he was; and he sent, over-land, a messenger to the Duke of Parma, entreating him to detach some fly-boats, without which he could not cope with the light and active English ships, and to hasten the embarkation of his troops, which, he represented, might effect a landing in England under cover of his fire. But both these requests were childish and absurd. Although Seymour and most of the English ships had left the station to co-operate with Howard, a small division remained with the Dutch, who closed Parma's only outlets, Nieuport and Dunkirk, and who were more than sufficient to scatter and sink his flat-bottomed boats, if they had put to sea. But, besides that these boats, which had been hastily constructed with bad materials, were already

rotting and falling to pieces, disease had broken out among the land-troops, and owing to the delayed arrival of the Armada, their provisions were almost exhausted. Thus Parma could do nothing till the blockade was cleared and proper ships with provisions were supplied to him. When he had lost a whole day, the Duke of Medina thought of making for Dunkirk; but in the meanwhile Seymour and Winter had joined Howard, and he was hemmed in by 140 English sail "fit for fight, good sailers, nimble and tight for tacking about." The Spaniards, however, were well ranged, their greatest ships being placed seaward, next the enemy, like strong castles, the lesser being anchored between them and the shore. The English found that in this position they must fight to disadvantage, but they hit upon a stratagem which presently broke this array. Eight small ships were gutted, besmeared with pitch, rosin, and wild-fire, filled with combustibles, and placed under the desperate guidance of Captain Young and Captain Prouse, who at the dead of night, favoured by wind and tide, led them close to the Spanish line, took to their boats, fired the trains, and escaped. The Spaniards, who remembered some terrible fire-ships which had been used against them by the Dutch in the Scheldt, began to cry, "The fire of Antwerp! The fire of Antwerp!" Some cut their cables, others let their hawsers slip, and in haste, fear, and confusion, put to sea. In this dreadful confusion the largest of the galeasses ran foul of another ship, lost her rudder, floated about at the mercy of the tide, and was then stranded. When the fire-ships had exploded, and the danger was over, a gun was fired from the duke's ship as a signal to the Spaniards to return to their former position; but the gun was heard by few, because "they were scattered all about and driven by fear, some into the wide [illegible], some among the shoals of Flanders." When morn[illegible] dawned, the English renewed the attack on the scatte[illegible] squadrons. One fierce attack was made on the g[illegible] galeass, stranded near Calais, but the small craft co[illegible] not board her until the admiral sent 100 men in [illegible]

boats under Sir Amyas Preston. The Spaniards made a brave resistance; but in the end their captain was shot through the head; they were boarded at all points, cut to pieces, or thrown overboard and drowned. In this huge bottom were found 50,000 ducats. At other places, Drake, Hawkins, Raleigh, Cumberland, Seymour, and Frobisher, gained many advantages. One of the capital ships of the Armada, a large galleon of Biscay, sunk under the English fire. The San Matteo, commanded by Diego Pignatelli, a Neapolitan, in attempting to cover another ship, was raked by the Rainbow and Vanguard, and, finally, compelled to surrender by a decisive broadside from a heavy Dutchman. Another great Spaniard dismantled and rent, drifted, fell ashore, and was taken by the mariners of Flushing. Two ketches foundered at sea. Still, however, the rest of the fleet rallied, and the Spaniards, who had shown no deficiency of courage, cried for revenge: but the Duke of Medina Sidonia had had enough of this war, and calling a council he resolved to make his way back to Spain in the best manner he could; and as it was held dangerous to attempt the English in their narrow seas, he resolved to steer northwards and return to Spain by sailing round Scotland.

On the last day of July, Drake wrote to Walsingham —"There was never anything pleased me better than the seeing the enemy flying with a southerly wind to the northward. We have the Spaniards before us, and mind, with the grace of God, to wrestle a pull with them." No one can doubt of the activity and good-will of Drake, of Frobisher, of any one of the great captains engaged; but yet the Spaniards were allowed to go down the wind without much pursuit. "The opportunity," says Sir William Monson, "was lost, not through the negligence or backwardness of the lord admiral, but merely through the want of providence in those that had the charge of furnishing and providing for the fleet; for at that time of so great advantage, when they came to examine their provisions, they found a general scarcity of powder and shot, for want of which they were forced

to return home. Another opportunity was lost, not much inferior to the other, by not sending part of our fleet to the west of Ireland, where the Spaniards of necessity were to pass, after so many dangers and disasters as they had endured. If we had been so happy as to have followed their course, as it was both thought and discoursed of, we had been absolutely victorious over this great and formidable navy; for they were brought to that necessity that they would willingly have yielded, as divers of them confessed that were shipwrecked in Ireland."* In effect, when the Spaniards had rounded the Orkneys, they were scattered and shattered by a tremendous tempest, the more perilous from their want of a proper knowledge of those seas and coasts. They threw overboard horses, mules, artillery, and baggage. Some of the ships were dashed to pieces among the Orkneys and the Western Isles, some were stranded in Norway, some went down at sea with every soul on board, some were cast upon the iron coast of Argyle, and more than thirty were driven on the coast of Ireland, where the popular name of Port-na-Spagna, bestowed on a place near the Giants' Causeway, recalls a part of the fearful catastrophe. Those who fell among the Scotch were made prisoners by King James; but the poor Spaniards who fell among the Irish had a worse fate —an eternal blot on the glory of those who inflicted it. The English feared that they might join the Irish Catholics, who were again in insurrection; and Sir William Fitzwilliam, the lord deputy, sent his marshal, who drove them out of their hiding-places and butchered 200 of them in cold blood. The rest, sick and starved, committed themselves to the greater mercy of the waves in their shattered vessels, and for the most part were

* True and Exact Account of the Wars in Spain.—The remarkable fact of the fleet being left bare of ammunition is confirmed by a letter written on the 8th of August, from the camp at Tilbury Fort, by Secretary Walsingham to the Lord Chancellor.—*Wright.* It appears, however, that a part of the fleet followed the Spaniards all along the English and Scottish coast as far as the Frith of Forth.

drowned. A small squadron was driven back to the English Channel, where, with the exception of one great ship, it was taken by the English, or by their allies the Dutch, or their other friends the Huguenots, who had equipped many privateers at Rochelle. The Duke of Medina, about the end of September, arrived at Santander, in the Bay of Biscay, with no more than sixty sail out of his whole fleet, and these very much shattered, with their crews all worn out with cold, and hunger, and sickness, and looking like spectres. The lord admiral of England had anchored safely in the Downs on the 8th of August, having lost but very few men and only one vessel of any consequence. Soldiership and flat bottomed boats could avail the Duke of Parma nothing against the victorious navy of England; and though an alarm was absurdly kept up for some months, the danger was over from the moment that the disorganised Armada retreated to the north.* About the middle of August, the camp at Tilbury Fort was broken up.

When the disbanding of the troops was over, the Earl of Leicester took his departure from court for Kenilworth Castle, but he fell suddenly ill on the road, and died at Cornbury in Oxfordshire, on the 4th day of September. The queen did not appear to grieve much for his loss, and almost immediately after his death she caused his effects to be sold by auction, for the satisfaction of certain debts he owed her treasury.† The fact was, the queen had been for some time provided with another darling, to whom she transferred the strange affection which for so many years she had bestowed on Leicester. This new favourite was Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, son of the unfortunate earl who had died in Ireland, and whose wife had been very irregularly married to Leicester.

* Camden. — Stow. — Strada. — Bentivoglio. — Strype. — Burghley Papers. — Hardwick Papers. — Southey. — Ellis. — Wright.

† It appears that there were two stories, one being that he was poisoned by his wife; the other that his death had been hastened by magic and conjuring.

At first the queen hated him on his mother's account, but this feeling gave way to an admiration of his handsome person and vivacious disposition. He was made master of the horse, knight of the garter, and captain-general of the cavalry in 1587, before he was twenty years of age. Upon the death of Leicester he succeeded at once to the dangerous post of prime favourite—a post almost as disagreeable as it was dangerous, for it called for the daily and hourly exercise of flattery and gallantry towards an old woman, a sort of service which ill suited the frank and impetuous character of Essex.

A.D. 1589.—Don Antonio, an illegitimate nephew of Henry King of Portugal, who had perished at the battle of Alcazar, in 1580, had taken refuge in England, where for some time he was left to pine in abject poverty. But now Elizabeth resolved to use him as a means of annoying Philip of Spain. She boldly set forth that Don Antonio was a legitimate prince, and her parliament, breathing revenge and conquest, voted her most liberal supplies, and petitioned her to carry the war into Philip's dominions. She told them that she was very poor, and needed all the money they had voted; but thereupon an association, headed by Drake and Norris, undertook to defray the greater part of the expenses, and in a short time they collected an armament of about 200 sail of all sizes, carrying nearly 20,000 men. Don Antonio embarked in royal state, and the fleet commanded by Drake set sail. It was scarcely gone out of Plymouth when the queen was thrown into tender anxieties by missing the young Earl of Essex, who had disobeyed her orders, and gone to indulge his taste for war. The expedition was badly planned, miserably supplied with money and ammunition, and but lamely conducted after the landing of the troops. It was also disgraced by cruelties unusual even in that age. Drake repaired in the first instance to Corufia, where he took four ships of war and burned the lower town. The troops, which were commanded by Sir John Norris, defeated a body of Spaniards intrenched in the neighbourhood, but they could not take the upper town; and as their powder began to fall short,

and sickness to rage in their ranks, they were re-embarked and carried to Peniche, on the Portuguese coast. From Peniche the fleet proceeded to the mouth of the Tagus, while the army marched through Torres Vedras to Lisbon, proclaiming everywhere their Don Antonio. But, contrary to their expectations, no one joined the Don, and they found the country laid waste and bare. There was only a weak Spanish garrison within Lisbon, and the English said they would certainly have taken that capital if it had not been for their total want of proper artillery! Famine was now added to sickness; and Norris, who had disagreed with Drake as to the management of the campaign, thought the best thing to do was to re-embark and return home. The young Earl of Essex displayed a romantic bravery, yet the campaign, on the whole, was exceedingly inglorious. When they counted their numbers at Plymouth, more than one half of their 20,000 had perished, or were missing.

On his return to court, Essex found that he had been nearly supplanted in the royal favour by Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Charles Blount, the latter second son of Lord Mountjoy, and a student in the Temple; but he soon prevailed over these aspirants. Raleigh was sent into Ireland, where he remained for several years, and, after fighting a duel with him, Essex contracted a great friendship for Blount, who soon afterwards became Earl of Mountjoy. But though Essex enjoyed the queen's good graces, and readily obtained gifts and favours for himself, he was generally unsuccessful in his applications for his friends, being constantly thwarted by the jealousy of the Cecils, and their party. In 1590, when Walsingham, the principal secretary, died, Essex earnestly pressed the claims of the unfortunate William Davison, who had been sacrificed to a state subterfuge; but the "old fox," as Essex called Lord Burghley, was resolved to put his son Robert, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, in Walsingham's place. The queen, beset by these rival parties, had recourse to one of those middle means which were familiar to her: she desired Burghley to take upon himself the vacant place, with permission to his son to

act as his assistant. Essex, who was rather passionate than malicious, soon forgot the dispute, but it was treasured up in the cold, hollow heart of Sir Robert Cecil. About this time Essex married the widow of the lamented Sir Philip Sydney, who was a daughter of Walsingham. This was gall and wormwood to the queen, who, however, gradually seemed to forget the offence.

In the following year, 1591, the earl, whose ruling passion was a love of military glory, passed over to France with a small army of 4000 men, to assist Henry of Navarre, now Henry IV. of France. Henry, on the death of his predecessor, found himself opposed by the French Catholic league, and obliged to strengthen his right of birth with the right of conquest. He attempted, indeed, to disarm the hostility of the Catholic party by large concessions; but this so incensed the Huguenots, who had hitherto been his support, and in whose religion he had been brought up, that they threatened to leave him to the fury of his enemies. He was forced to abandon for a time the siege of Paris, and to retire into Normandy. At this crisis he applied to his old secret alley, Queen Elizabeth, who very opportunely supplied him with 20,000*l.* in gold, and with some troops. Essex greatly distinguished himself, and lost by a musket-shot his only brother, Walter Devereux, to whom he was fondly attached. Other expeditions were sent over from time to time, and contributed to check the enemies of Henry, particularly in Brittany, where the Spaniards, in alliance with the lords of the league, had landed a considerable force. This war, though somewhat costly, and contributing in no very direct manner to any English interest, was very popular with the Protestants; but in 1593, Henry, to secure peace to his throne, embraced the Catholic religion. Elizabeth charged him with perfidy and double dealing; but when the French king agreed to maintain an offensive and defensive war against Philip, as long as Philip should remain at war with England, she was fain to be satisfied.

Ever since the defeat of the Armada, the severity used

against the Catholics in Ireland had been on the increase. Fines and imprisonment were of daily occurrence, and capital punishments became horribly frequent. An inevitable consequence of the barbarous system was to provoke conspiracies among desperate men, and to cause rumours of many plots which never existed.

In the meanwhile Henry IV. was deriving no very great advantage from his war with Spain, to which Elizabeth had bound him. He saw Champaigne invaded, and Burgundy threatened, Picardy overrun, and Dourlens and Cambray taken by the Spaniards; and in the month of April, 1596, the Archduke Albert, who had succeeded to the government of the Spanish Netherlands, took from him the town and citadel of Calais. Elizabeth, who had of late been very sparing of her money and troops, was in great alarm at the latter conquest, which brought the Spaniards, who were again talking of invasion, to the very threshold of her own door, and her grief and consternation were great, as her two great naval commanders, Drake and Hawkins, had died of sickness and vexation in the preceding year, in the course of a very unsuccessful expedition to Spanish America. She now took to writing prayers, and Sir Robert Cecil told Essex that no prayer is so fruitful as that which proceedeth from those who nearest in nature and power approach the Almighty; but the Lord Howard of Effingham, thinking that something more was wanting, suggested another attack upon the Spanish coast, and in the month of June, 1596, a fleet of 150 sail, with 14,000 land troops, sailed from Plymouth. The lord admiral took the command of the fleet, and the Earl of Essex of the army; but to make up for the inexperience and rashness of the young earl, he was ordered to submit all important measures to a council of war, composed of Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir George Carew, and other tried officers. In the month of June the fleet sailed into Cadiz bay, and in defiance of the fire from the forts and battlements and 15 large men of war, they got into the harbour, where, after a fierce fight which lasted six hours, three of the largest of the Spanish ships were taken, and about 50 sail were

plundered and burnt. As soon as this was over, Essex landed a part of the land force, and on the next day he forced the city of Cadiz to capitulate. The inhabitants paid 12,000 crowns for their lives;—their houses, their merchandise, their goods of all kinds were plundered by the conquerors, and the whole loss sustained by the Spaniards on this occasion was estimated at 20,000,000 of ducats. Essex, who was the real hero of this short campaign, would have retained the conquest, and he offered to remain at Cadiz and Isla de Leon with 3000 men, but he was overruled, and compelled to re-embark, having first seen the fortifications razed.

On the return of this expedition, which was not absent above ten weeks, dissensions and jealousies broke out among the commanders, and the queen was incensed at the small portion of the plunder which was brought to her treasury. The Cecils had taken advantage of his absence to undermine the great credit of Essex, and now he was insidiously assailed from all sides, and Sir Walter Raleigh intrigued against him, and claimed to himself the chief merit of the expedition. Essex was sinking to rise no more, when a lucky accident came to his assistance. The Spanish treasure ships from the new world arrived safely in Spain with 20,000,000 of dollars on board. Essex maintained that he had projected a voyage from Cadiz to Terceira for the purpose of intercepting this rich prize, and that he certainly should have succeeded in doing so had he not been thwarted and overruled by the creatures of the Cecils. Old Burghley, who made some false steps to recover the good will of Essex—things almost unaccountable in such a man—was called to his face a miscreant and coward, and driven for a time from court. Essex was somewhat over-proud and confident on this victory, but not being capable of a lasting hatred, he consented in the course of a few months to a regular treaty of peace and amity with the Cecils, which was managed, for his own purposes, by Sir Walter Raleigh. But in the beginning of the year 1597 Essex quarrelled with the queen for promoting his personal enemy, Henry lord Cobham, to the office of warden of

the cinque ports, which he, Essex, had petitioned Elizabeth to grant to his near connexion Sir Robert Sidney. He left the court, and was mounting his horse to go into Wales when the queen pressingly recalled him, and to pacify him made him master of the ordnance. Philip of Spain was now preparing a new Armada. The English cabinet resolved to anticipate this attack, and after some struggle with the queen's economy, they fitted out a powerful armament for the destruction of the new Armada in its own ports, for the intercepting of the treasure ships, and the harassing the Spanish coasts and colonies. The command was given to the ardent Essex, who had under him Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Walter Raleigh. The fleet sailed from Plymouth in the month of July, 1597, but it was almost immediately driven back upon the coast by a tremendous storm, which disabled many of the ships. It did not get to sea again till the 17th of August, by which time the men had eaten up all their provisions. Although Essex captured three Spanish ships, which were returning from the Havannah, and which were valued at 100,000*l.*, and although he took in the Azores the isles of Fayal, Graciosa, and Flores, which the English could not keep, his expedition was considered a failure. A Spanish fleet had threatened the English coast in his absence, and on his return the queen received him with frowns and reproaches. The earl, who was further incensed by some steps gained in the government by Sir Robert Cecil and his friends, retired to his house at Wanstead in Essex, and, under pretence of sickness, refused to go either to court or parliament. But the queen, who was constantly quarrelling with him when present, could not bear his prolonged absence, and she got him back by creating him hereditary earl marshal.

At this moment Spain, which for some time had been secretly negotiating with France, intimated that it would gladly include England in a general peace, and in the month of May, 1598, Sir Robert Cecil, who had been on a mission to Paris, brought direct proposals for a treaty. The Cecils, with all the rest of that tribe, insisted that these proposals should be entertained, but the

warlike Essex argued hotly for a continuation of hostilities. The dispute in the cabinet grew violent, and old Burghley, losing his temper altogether, told Essex that he thought of nothing but blood and slaughter, and drawing out of his pocket a psalm-book, pointed to the words "blood-thirsty men shall not live out half their days." The Cecil party carried the majority of the nation with them. In the meanwhile Henry IV. of France had signed with Philip the treaty of Vervins, by which he recovered possession of Calais and the other places which he had lost during his alliance with Elizabeth.

Ireland was in a most alarming state, and it was deemed expedient to send over a new lord deputy with extraordinary powers. The Cecils proposed one officer, Essex another: the queen sided with the Cecils, and attacked Essex with her usual severity of language.* The earl, forgetting himself and his duty, turned his back upon his sovereign in a kind of contempt. The queen would not bear this insolence, and so bestowed on him a box on the ear and bade him go to the devil. Essex immediately clapped his hand on his sword, and swore a great oath, that he neither could nor would put up with an affront of that nature, nor would he have taken it at the hands of Henry VIII. himself; and so saying he rushed out of the apartment and instantly withdrew from court, again to brood over his wrongs in his house at Wanstead. From June till October he remained in that solitude, but then, to the surprise of most people, he returned to court, and apparently to the possession of his former favour. It is doubted, however, whether Elizabeth ever forgave him. "His friends," says Camden, "dated the earl's ruin from this unfortunate circumstance; making this remark, that fortune rarely caresses a cast off favourite a second time." During Essex's seclusion

* The struggle here was, not which of the two, Essex or the Cecils, should appoint his friend, but which should prevent his friend's being appointed. The post of lord lieutenant or deputy in Ireland was no longer an enviable one.

Burghley had gone to his grave. That remarkable statesman died on the 4th of August, 1598, in the 78th year of his age, having mainly directed the councils of Elizabeth for forty long years. Elizabeth is said to have wept bitterly at his death. About the same time, however, her heart was lightened by intelligence of the death of her arch-enemy Philip of Spain.

We pass over many of the persecutions, state trials, and sanguinary executions which threw a gloom on the last years of this reign: but there is one case which, on account of its frightful absurdity, seems to merit a moment's notice. One Stanley accused a private soldier, named Squires, of a design to poison the queen. Squires, after lying on the rack *for five hours*, confessed that Walpole, a Jesuit, had engaged him to commit the crime, and had furnished him with a most powerful poison. The poison was contained in a double bladder, which Squires was to prick with a pin, and then to press on the pummel of the queen's saddle. The queen (so went the story) would undoubtedly touch the poison with her hand, and afterwards move her hand to her mouth or nose, and so death must ensue, as the said poison was "so subtle and penetrating" that it would instantly reach either her lungs or her stomach. The tortured man moreover confessed that he had actually rubbed some of the poison into the pummel of the saddle on which the queen's majesty had actually ridden. On the trial one of the queen's counsel could not describe her majesty's peril for weeping, and another of them declared that her escape was as great a miracle as any recorded in holy writ. The prisoner now said that he had confessed all sorts of things on the rack merely to escape from that torture. He was executed as a traitor, and died maintaining his innocence of what we may pretty safely call an impossible crime.

Upon the accession of Philip III., though no treaty of peace was concluded, the war was allowed to languish, and by degrees all parties began to entertain the notion of an enduring peace.

Meanwhile the state of Ireland grew worse and worse, though before this time things were brought to such ex-

tremities, that Walsingham had thought it no treason to wish the island and all in it buried in the sea. "The Irish nation," says a quaint old historian of the court of Elizabeth, "we may call a malady, and a consumption of her times, for it accompanied her to her end; and it was of so profuse and vast an expense, that it drew near unto a distemperature of state and of passion in herself; for, towards her last, she grew somewhat hard to please, her armies being accustomed to prosperity, and the Irish prosecution not answering her expectations, and her wonted success; for it was a good while an unthrifty and inauspicious war, which did much disturb and mislead her judgment; and the more for that it was a precedent taken out of her own pattern. For as the queen, by way of division, had, at her coming to the crown, supported the revolting States of Holland, so did the King of Spain turn the trick upon herself, towards her going out, by cherishing the Irish rebellion."*

The present leader of the Irish insurgents was Hugh, the son of the late Baron of Duncannon, who had been exalted by the queen to the Earldom of Tyrone, and who had exalted himself to be the O'Niel and rightful Irish sovereign of Ulster—an extraordinary man, ambitious, crafty, brave, and of an indefatigable activity. Under his guidance the Irish pursued a consistent plan, which they had never done before. They wore out the English troops by a desultory warfare among marshes, woods, and hills; and strong in their numbers and improved discipline, they ventured to face them in the open field. Sir John Norris, the veteran who had gained honour in the Netherlands and in France, was harassed to death, and died of sheer grief and vexation. Sir Henry Bagnall was defeated in a pitched battle fought at Blackwater, in Tyrone, and lost his own life, the lives of 1500 of his men, his artillery, and ammunition. After this victory all the Irish, with the exception of a few septs, proclaimed the Earl of Tyrone the saviour of his country, and rose in arms, with the hope of wholly expelling the

* Naunton, Fragmenta Regalia.

English. To meet the storm and to measure swords with the Earl of Tyrone, it was necessary to appoint a general of superior ability, and one that enjoyed the favour of the English army. The Cecils suggested that none was so fit as the Earl of Essex, for they wished to remove him from court, and involve him in a business which had brought death, or disgrace and ruin to all preceding commanders. The earl was warned by his friends to beware of Ireland: he expressed great reluctance to take the command; but at last he yielded to the requests of the queen, and the temptations of a large sum of money and greater powers and privileges than had been enjoyed by any of his predecessors; and in the month of March, 1599, he left London for Ireland. Almost as soon as he reached Ireland he appointed his friend the Earl of Southampton to be general of the horse, considering that the power to make such an appointment was vested in him. But the queen, after some angry correspondence, compelled him to revoke it.* Soon after he was accused of wasting time and money. He replied, that he acted by the advice of the lords of the Irish council, and in consideration of the state of affairs. The queen harshly told him that she had great cause to think that his purpose was to prolong the war. The Cecils took every advantage of this fresh quarrel, and they no doubt helped to check the earl's supplies and embarrass his operations. His troops seem, indeed, to have been a Falstaff's army; many deserted, many fell lame, and could not, or would not, march; and then a sickness of a serious kind, the effect of scanty or bad provisions, broke out amongst them. By the month of August he had no more than 3500 foot and 300 horse in the field. He demanded and obtained a reinforcement of 2000 men, upon which he marched, for the first time, into Ulster, the centre of the rebellion. He went, however, complaining that he had received nothing but "discomforts and soul wounds," and that Raleigh

* It appears that Lord Southampton's disfavour with the queen arose from his marrying without her leave a kinswoman of the Earl of Essex.

and Cobham with others were working his ruin at home. On the 5th of September Essex came up with Tyrone and his whole army in the county of Louth, but instead of a battle their meeting ended in a personal parley, the result of which was an armistice for six weeks, which was to be renewed from six weeks to six weeks, until May-day following. The Earl of Tyrone gave Essex several demands on the part of the Irish, which he undertook to deliver to the queen. Tyrone returned with all his forces into the heart of his country. Essex, upon receiving some angry despatches from England, left the government of Ireland to the Archbishop of Dublin and Sir George Carew, and, without waiting for any order or permission, hastened to London. Upon Michaelmas eve, about ten o'clock in the morning, he alighted at the court-gate in post, and made all haste up to the presence, and so to the privy chamber, and staid not till he came to the queen's bed-chamber, where he found the queen newly up, with her hair about her face; he kneeled unto her, kissed her hands, and had some private speech with her, which seemed to give him great contentment; for when he came from her majesty he was very pleasant, and thanked God, though he had suffered much trouble and storms abroad, he found a sweet calm at home. In the course of the forenoon he had a long conference with her majesty, who was very gracious towards him. All the lords and ladies and court gentlemen also were very courteous—only a strangeness was observed between the earl and Sir Robert Cecil and that party. But after dinner, when Essex went again to the queen, he found her much changed; and she began to call him to question for his unauthorised return, and his leaving of all things in Ireland in such peril and confusion.* At night, between ten and eleven o'clock, he received an order from her majesty to consider himself a prisoner in his room. On the next day the lords sat in council, and called Essex before them. It was said that never man answered with more temper, more gravity, or dis-

* Sidney Papers.

cution.* Three days after he was delivered to the lord keeper to be kept in "free custody." The great and little Bacon, who had had many obligations to Essex, but who was now making his way to power through intricate mazes, was consulted by the earl. "It is but a mist;" said Bacon, "but it is as mists are—if it go upwards it may cause a shower; if downwards it will clear up:" by which periphrasis he meant that all must depend on the queen's humour. This humour seemed to be fixed in spite and revenge. She said that she sought his amendment, not his destruction; but she consulted with the judges whether he might not be charged with high treason; she denied him the society of his wife, the attendance of his physician, even when Essex lay dangerously ill. In the month of May, 1600, when he had been nearly eight months under restraint, he made a touching appeal to his sovereign, telling her how he had languished in four months' sickness, felt the very pangs of death upon him, and his poor reputation not suffered to die with him, but buried and he alive. On the 26th of August he was released from custody, being told that he was not to appear at court. A few days after his release a valuable patent for the monopoly of sweet wines, which he had held for some years, expired: he petitioned for a renewal of it as an aid to his shattered fortunes; but the queen, saying that, "in order to manage an ungovernable beast, he must be stinted in his provender," positively refused.

Essex now became desperate, and there was one at his elbow to prompt the most desperate deeds. This was Cuffe, his secretary; "a man smothered under the habit of a scholar, and slubbered over with a certain rude and clownish fashion that had the semblance of integrity."† The secretary suggested that he might easily recover his former ascendancy by forcibly removing Sir Robert Cecil, Raleigh, and others from court. Essex knew that he had been the darling of the Londoners, who, with as much boldness as was consistent with prudence, had de-

* Sidney Papers. † Reliquiæ Wottonianæ.

fended his conduct in Ireland, had laid the blame of his failures and his crosses on the malice of his enemies, and had compassionated his misfortunes. Some of the preachers had, indeed, been bolder than this—defending him in the pulpit, and praying for him by name. Nor had the press been idle; pamphlets were put forth in his favour; and Heywood, a civilian, published a curious history of the deposition of Richard II., and dedicated it to the earl, with lavish commendations of his character. Other daring men joined in the advice given by Cuffe; and Essex finally adopted their perilous plan. He threw open the gates of his house in London, and thither flocked Catholic priests, Puritan preachers, soldiers and sailors, young citizens and needy adventurers. A strong party of military men, officers who had served under him, took up lodgings in his immediate neighbourhood, and formed themselves into a council. Essex, moreover, wrote to the King of Scots, representing the court party as engaged in a conspiracy against his title to the succession, in favour of the Infanta of Spain, Donna Isabella Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II., and married to the Archduke Albert. It was impossible that these proceedings should be kept secret: the court soon heard all, and summoned Essex to appear before the privy council. At that moment a note, from an unknown writer, warning him to provide for his safety was put into his hand; and he was told, soon after, that the guard had been doubled at the palace. He saw that he must either fly, be arrested where he was, or strike his blow; and on the following morning, being Sunday, the 8th of February, in conjunction with the earls of Rutland and Southampton, Lord Sandys, Lord Mounteagle, and about three hundred gentlemen, many of whom had joined him the preceding night on notice sent to them by him that his life was threatened by Cobham and Raleigh, he resolved to enter the city during sermon time at Paul's Cross, to call upon the people to join him against his enemies, and with their help to force his way to the queen. As the company was about to set forth, the Lord Keeper

Egerton, Sir William Knollys, the Lord Chief Justice Popham, and the Earl of Worcester, arrived at Essex House to inquire the cause of that tumultuous assembly. They were admitted into the house by the wicket-gate, but their attendants were excluded. When Egerton and Popham asked what all this meant, Essex replied, in a loud and passionate voice,—"There is a plot laid for my life—letters have been forged in my name—men have been hired to murder me in my bed—mine enemies cannot be satisfied unless they suck my blood!" The lord chief justice said that he ought to explain his case, and that the queen would do impartial justice. While this conversation was going on a tumult arose in the assembly, and some voices exclaimed,—"They abuse you, my lord,—they betray you,—you are losing time." The lord keeper, putting on his cap, and turning to the assembly, commanded them, in the queen's name, to lay down their arms and depart. Upon this there was a louder cry—"Kill them! kill them!—keep them for hostages!—away with the great seal!" The Earl of Essex took them to an inner apartment, where, bidding them have patience for half an hour, he bolted the door upon them, and placed over them a guard of musketeers. Then, drawing his sword, he rushed out of his house, followed by the earls of Rutland and Southampton, Lord Sandys, Lord Mounteagle, and most of the gentlemen. On reaching the city he found that the streets were empty, that there was no preaching at Paul's Cross, and that the people remained quiet within their houses. The queen had procured this great quiet by sending orders to the lord mayor and aldermen. The earl shouted—"For the queen, my mistress!—a plot is laid for my life!"—and he entreated the citizens to arm themselves. But though the common people cried "God bless your honour," not one man, from the chiefest citizen to the meanest artificer or 'prentice, armed with him. The citizens were not without their discontents and desire of change, particularly on the grounds of religion,—for London swarmed with Puritans,—but their wealth made them cau-

tious and loyal.* Essex went into the house of Smith, one of the sheriffs, and remained there some time, not knowing what to do. About two o'clock in the afternoon he again went forth, and having passed to and fro through divers streets, and being forsaken by many of his followers, he resolved to make the nearest way to his own house. He found the streets barricaded in many places with empty carts, and coming into Ludgate, he was strongly resisted by several companies of well armed men, levied and placed there by the Lord Bishop of London. A sharp skirmish ensued; several were wounded; the earl himself was twice shot through the hat; and Sir Christopher Blount, his stepfather, was sore wounded in the head, and taken prisoner. Essex then turned, and retreated into Friday-street; and, being faint, he desired drink, which was given him by the citizens. He made his way to Queenhithe, where he took boat, and so gained Essex House. To his increased dismay he found that all the imprisoned lords had been liberated and conveyed to court, by his own esteemed trusty friend and servant, Sir Ferdinando George, who by this act sought to provide for his own safety. He then fortified his house with full purpose to die in his own defence,—hoping, however, it is said, that the citizens would yet join him. But the house was presently hemmed in on all sides by a very great force, and not a man came to his relief. Some great pieces of artillery were planted against the building. His case was hopeless, but still he hesitated. One of his faithful followers, Captain Owen Salisbury, seeing all hopes were gone, stood openly in a window, bare-headed, on purpose to be slain; and one in the street hit him in the head with a musket bullet. At length, about ten o'clock at night, Essex held a parley, and then surrendered to the lord-admiral, upon a promise of a fair hearing and a speedy trial. Essex and the Earl of Southampton were committed to the Tower, the other prisoners were lodged in various gaols in London and Westminster.† On the 19th the Earls of Essex and

* Camden. † Camden.—Stow.

Southampton were arraigned before twenty-five peers, with the Lord Buckhurst as lord steward. Among the peers were Cobham and Grey, and others the personal enemies of Essex, the very men whom he had accused of seeking his life. With his eye fixed on these men, Essex touched his companion in misfortune, Southampton, on the sleeve, and smiled. The indictment charged them with having imagined to deprive and depose the queen's majesty, to procure her death and destruction, and also a cruel slaughter of her majesty's subjects, with alteration of the religion established, and total change of government.

Essex, in pleading not guilty, called God to witness that he had done nothing but that which the law of nature commanded him to do in his own defence. The indictment was supported with the usual vehemence by the crown lawyers, Yelverton, Coke, and Francis Bacon. The latter, by his conduct on this occasion, laid some of the dark spots on his fame which no genius can or ought ever to erase. It appears, however, that his tone was less virulent than that of either Coke or Yelverton; but Coke and Yelverton were not bound to the Earl of Essex, as Bacon was, by the strongest obligations. Yelverton compared Essex to Catiline; for as Catiline entertained the most seditious persons about all Rome, so had the Earl of Essex entertained none but papists, recusants, and atheists for his rebellion in London; but he hoped that God, of his mercy, would not suffer any hurt; and he prayed God long to preserve the queen. Essex and Southampton said "Amen! and God confound their souls who ever wished otherwise." Coke, as attorney-general, defined the crime, and set forth the acts of treason proved by witnesses of the insurrection, and by the confessions of accomplices, whom the queen, "out of overmuch clemency to others, and overmuch cruelty to herself, *had spared the rack and torture*;" and he ended a long speech, in which he called the prisoners papist and dissolute, desperate and atheistical, by saying "The earl would have called a parliament; and a bloody parliament would that have been, where my

Lord of Essex, that now stands all in black, would have worn a bloody robe; but now, in God's just judgment, he of his earldom shall be Robert the last, that of a kingdom thought to be Robert the First." Essex begged that he might not be judged by the atrocity of Coke's words, but by the facts; declaring that he resorted to arms in self-defence, and to remove evil counsellors, naming Cobham and Raleigh; that he had never the remotest thought of violence to the queen. Cobham, who was sitting among the peers, rose in his place, and said that he bore no malice, but only hated the ambition of Essex. Essex swore that he would submit to have his right hand cut off if it might remove from the queen's person such a tale-bearing, vile calumniator. The Earl of Southampton pleaded that many things, indeed, were propounded, but nothing performed, or even resolved upon; that it had, indeed, been advised among them that they should surprise the court, and take the Tower at once: but, as neither of these two things had been done, there could be no treason. It is true, he said, they had consulted at Drury House how they should secure the queen or get free access to her; but this was only that they might prostrate themselves at her feet, and lay forth their grievances, which were concealed from her by those who constantly surrounded her. "I confess," he added, "that I could have been well content to have ventured my life in my Lord of Essex's quarrel against his private enemies: this was the whole scope and drift of all our meetings; and that this was not with any treasonable thought I take God to witness." Bacon had to perform the task of taking to pieces and exposing the "weak defence" of his former friend and patron Essex. "And this I must needs say," said he, "it is quite evident that my Lord of Essex had design in his heart against the government, and now, under colour of excuse, he lays the cause upon his private enemies. My Lord of Essex, I cannot compare your proceedings more rightly than to those of Pisistratus in Athens. My Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh, if you rightly understood them, are your best friends, honourable and faithful

counsellors." Here Essex reminded Bacon that he himself, "who was a daily courtier, and had free access to her majesty," pretending to be his friend, and grieved at his misfortunes, had undertaken to go to the queen in his behalf, and had drawn up in his own hand a letter, from which it would appear what conceit he, Mr. Bacon, had of those two men (Cobham and Raleigh) and of him. Coke came in to the aid of Bacon, who was somewhat abashed by this reference to his own doings and free speaking about Cecil, Cobham, and Raleigh. Essex was accused of saying, in London, that the crown of England was sold to the Spaniards. "I spake it not of myself," said Essex, "for it was told me that Mr. Secretary Cecil did say to one of his fellow-counsellors that the Infanta's title, comparatively, was as good in succession as any other." Upon this Sir Robert Cecil, who had been present in the court, but unseen, started up from his hiding-place, and then humbly prayed the lord high steward, upon his knees, to give him leave to answer to so false and foul a report. Having obtained permission, he fell upon the prisoner in this sort—"My Lord of Essex, the difference between you and me is great. For wit I give you the pre-eminence—you have it abundantly; for nobility also I give you place—I am not noble, yet a gentleman; I am no swordsman—there, also, you have the odds; but I have innocence, conscience, truth, and honesty, to defend me against the scandal and sting of slanderous tongues; and in this court I stand as an upright man, and your lordship as a delinquent. . . . You have a wolf's heart in a sheep's garment: in appearance humble and religious, but in this position not so. God be thanked we now know you; your religion appears by those papists who were your chief counsellors, and to whom and others you had promised liberty of conscience hereafter. . . . But I challenge you to name the counsellor to whom I spoke these words about the Infanta's title. Name him if you dare; if you do not name him, it must be believed to be a fiction." The Earl of Essex, turning to Southampton, said that *he* was the honourable person that had heard it all. Cecil then

conjured Southampton, by their former friendship, to name the counsellor who had said that he (Cecil) had spoken those words. Southampton appealed to the court whether it were consistent with honour that he should betray the secret; "and," added he, "if you say upon your honour it be fit, I will name him." The court said that it was fit and honourable; and Southampton thereupon said, "It was told my Lord of Essex and myself that you should speak such words about the Infanta to Mr. Comptroller, Sir William Knollys." A serjeant-at-arms was despatched for Knollys; and, in the interval, Coke pressed the accusations of hypocrisy and irreligion upon Essex—"forasmuch as, having in his house continual preaching, he yet was content to have Sir Christopher Blount, a notorious papist, in his house, and to promise toleration of religion." Blount, it must be remembered, was Essex's stepfather.* The earl said he knew him to be a papist, and had often sought his conversion; and that, being in speech together about matter of religion, Blount had told him that he was too passionate against those of his profession: "Whereto," said Essex, "I replied thus—'Did you ever know that at such times as I had power in the state, I was willing that any one should be troubled for his conscience?' And this, my lords, is the whole ground and substance of my promise for toleration of religion." It was very unnecessary for him to defend himself against what ought to have tended to his glory! When Sir William Knollys arrived in court, he deposed that he merely heard Cecil say that the title of the Infanta was maintained in a printed book.† It was not likely that Knollys should commit himself in a question between a fallen favourite and a minister of state, like Sir Robert Cecil, daily rising in favour and power: on the other

* He had married Essex's mother on the death of her second husband, the favourite Leicester.

† "A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England." This book, which bears the assumed name of Doleman, is supposed to have been written by the celebrated English Jesuit, Father Parsons.

hand, the charge against Cecil wears little appearance of probability. None of the witnesses were produced on the trial, with the exception of George, who had liberated the ministers from Essex's house, and this man was confused and pale when cross-questioned by Essex. After another speech by Bacon, who now compared Essex to the Duke of Guise, and called his *defence* a silly defence, and his *offence* treason, the Lord High Steward directed the peers to withdraw, and ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to remove the two prisoners from the bar.

When the lords had got together in a private place, the two Chief Justices and the Lord Chief Baron went to them to deliver their opinions in law. In half an hour the peers came forth again with an unanimous sentence of guilty against both the earls. When the clerk of the crown asked the mournful question of form, what he could say for himself why judgment of death should not be pronounced against him, Essex answered like a man tired of life, but he begged earnestly for mercy to his friend Southampton. The Lord Steward advised him to submit, and implore the queen's mercy by acknowledging and confessing all his offences. Essex begged him not to think him too proud, but he could not ask for mercy in that way, though with all humility he prayed her majesty's forgiveness; he would rather die than live in misery; he had cleared his accounts, had forgiven all the world, and was ready and willing to be out of it.* Immediately after his arrival at the Tower, he was visited by the Dean of Norwich, who was to endeavour to obtain from him the names of all such as had been engaged with him in any way in the enterprise. The dean met with no success; but it was otherwise when the earl was attended by his own chaplain, Mr. Ashton—"a base, fearful, and mercenary man," who had obtained a great ascendancy over him, and who, to all appearance, had now sold himself to the Cecil party at court. The day after Ashton's visit, Essex, it is said, made an ample confession, implicating several individuals, and, among

* Jardine, Crim. Trials.

others, the King of Scotland. His confession filled four sheets of paper; but many doubts are entertained as to its authenticity. We believe that the story of the queen's vacillation and agony, with the romantic incident of the ring, rests upon no good foundation. Her personal regard for Essex had been extinguished for some time; and it is proved, by letters and documents in the State Paper Office, that, as soon as his confession was obtained, his execution was prepared, without serious objection on the part of the queen. One of the strangest things attending the case was the resolution to make this execution a private one, and to declare that the earl himself had been an exceeding earnest suitor to be executed privately in the Tower, whither no friend, not even his wife or mother, had been admitted to see him since his first committal! It was evidently an object with government to bury the real voice of the earl, that he might not retrieve his character for honour and faithfulness to his friends, or question or contradict the alleged confession. Where precautions like these are taken—when things are witnessed by a few picked courtiers and discreet divines, we can have no reliance on the descriptions of executions and last words.*

On Ash Wednesday, the 25th of February, at about eight o'clock in the morning, the head of Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, was severed from his body in an inner court of the Tower. Sir Walter Raleigh, according to his own account, witnessed his death from the Armoury. He was only thirty-three years old! "He was a most accomplished person," says Camden, "and

* Some said that Essex was executed so privately only for fear that he might say something unfavourable to the queen's virtue. Cecil was uncommonly earnest in declaring in the French court, where Essex was much admired, that the earl had petitioned to die in private. "Nay," replied Henry IV., "rather the clean contrary, for he desired nothing more than to die in public." That part of the clergy, however, that were in the habit of receiving court orders, declared that the earl had asked for a private execution, in order that he might not have his religious thoughts disturbed.

had all those good qualities in perfection that become a nobleman. The queen had a particular value for him, because he was a brave soldier, and, indeed, was made for a camp. . . . Indeed, he was a person not rightly calculated for a court, as being not easily brought to any mean compliances. He was of a temper that would readily kindle an injury, but would not so easily forget one; and so far was he from being capable of dissembling a resentment, that he carried his passions in his forehead, and the friend or the enemy was easily read in his face." But, though impetuous and rash, Essex was far indeed from being the hair-brained shallow man that he has been represented. His acquirements were very considerable; and "all his letters," as it has been observed, "whether in Latin or English, of an earlier or later date, public or private, partake uniformly of the same clearness and elegance of manner."* Bacon admitted that his style was far better than his own; and to beauty of style and a refined and elegant taste Essex united occasionally great and noble thoughts. His name, also, ought to be revered as that of a friend to religious toleration in a most intolerant age. He was acceptable, says Carte, to the Catholics, for his extreme aversion to the putting of anybody to death on account of religion. "The Irish," said Essex himself, "are alienated from the English as well for religion as government. . . . I would achieve pacification there by composition rather than by the sword." The Earl of Southampton was not sent to the block, but he remained a close prisoner in the Tower until the accession of James I., when he was immediately released, restored to his title and estates, and taken into that sovereign's favour.

There were many things which rendered the close of this long reign gloomy and altogether different from its beginning. In spite of the pulpit and the press, Essex continued the darling of the people, and a strong current of unpopularity set in against the government. When the old queen appeared abroad the people no longer

* Ellis, Orig. Letters.

hailed her as they had been wont to do; and her ministers and counsellors were insulted and hooted. And yet they went on to shed more blood about this wild business, which ought to have been forgotten as soon as over. On the last day of February a young man named Woodhouse was hanged for speaking against the queen's proclamation and apprehending of the Earl of Essex. On the 13th of March, Cuffe, the secretary, and Merrick, the steward of Essex, was drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered. On the 18th of March Sir Charles Davers, or Danvers, a close friend of the Earl of Southampton, was publicly beheaded upon Tower Hill. On the same day, and as soon as the body of this victim was removed from the scaffold, Sir Christopher Blount, the step-father of the Earl of Essex, was stretched over the same block, and died with equal firmness, protesting that he had been and was a true Catholic. Sir Walter Raleigh stood near the scaffold all the time, not foreseeing the day when he should be there as a sufferer, not as a spectator. Sir John Davies, Sir Edward Baynam, and Mr. Littleton were also condemned as traitors; but Davies, after a year's confinement, obtained a pardon; Baynam bought a pardon by giving large sums of money to Sir Walter Raleigh; and Littleton, having surrendered a great estate, and paid a fine of 10,000*l*., was removed to the King's Bench, where he died three months after.

If at this moment Elizabeth had had the neck of the sapient James of Scotland under the protection of her laws, it would scarcely have had a better chance than his mother's; for Elizabeth, no doubt, knew of that prince's correspondence with the Earl of Essex. There is some reason, indeed, for suspecting that the English were not unconcerned in an extraordinary affair which happened in Scotland only a few months before Essex's wild outbreak. The Gowrie conspiracy, as it is called, is perhaps the most perplexing puzzle in history—for not only is the evidence as to the facts defective and contradictory, which is a common case, but we are scarcely any nearer a satisfactory solution of the mystery, let us select any version of the story we please. Among many dif-

ferent theories which the ingenuity of modern inquirers has suggested, one, proposed by an eminent historian, would trace the attempt directly to the contrivance of Elizabeth: in support of which view it is alleged that, besides the Earl of Gowrie's known attachment to the English interest, he had, during his residence in Paris, contracted an intimate friendship with Sir Henry Neville, the queen's ambassador there, and was recommended by him to his court as a person of whom great use might be made; that he had been received by Elizabeth, as he returned home through England with distinguished marks of respect and favour; that Elizabeth's participation in the affair was matter of general suspicion at the time; that for some months before an English ship was observed hovering in the mouth of the Frith of Forth; that after the failure of the conspiracy the earl's two younger brothers fled into England, and were protected by Elizabeth; and, finally, that James, though he prudently concealed what he felt, is well known to have at this time taken great umbrage at the behaviour of the English queen. The object of the Gowrie conspiracy, it is assumed on this supposition, was not to murder but only to coerce James, and control the government, as had been the object of the authors of the Raid of Ruthven sixteen years before—an enterprise which was in like manner instigated and supported by Elizabeth.*

In the month of October, 1601, Elizabeth met her parliament for the last time, sick and failing, but dressed more gaily and gorgeously than ever. She was in great straits for money in order to carry on the war in Ireland. The houses voted her much more than had ever been voted at a time, viz., four subsidies, and eight tenths and fifteenths; but the Commons were as free of their complaints as they were of their money, and they called loudly and boldly for a redress of grievances. The most notorious of the abuses which disgraced the civil government of Elizabeth were an endless string of monopolies, which had been for the most part bestowed by the queen

* Robertson, Hist. Scot.

on her favourites. All kinds of wine, oil, salt, starch, tin, steel, coals, and numerous other commodities, were monopolised by men who had the exclusive right of vending them, and fixing their own prices. The Commons' complaints were not new; they had pressed them many years before, but they had been then silenced by authority, and told that no one must speak against licences and monopolies lest the queen and council should be angry thereat. Of course, in the interval, they had gone on increasing. When the list of them was now read over in the House, a member asked whether bread was not among the number? The House seemed amazed. "Nay," said he, "if no remedy is found for these, bread will be there before the next parliament." The ministers and courtiers could not withstand the impetuous attacks which ensued. Raleigh, who dealt largely in tin, and had his fingers in other profitable monopolies, offered to give them all up: Cecil and Bacon talked loudly of the prerogative, and endeavoured to persuade the House that it would be fitter to proceed by petition than by bill; but it was properly answered that nothing had been gained by petitioning in the last parliament. After four days of such debate as the House had not heard before, Elizabeth sent down a message that she would revoke all grants that should be found injurious by fair trial at law; and Cecil, seeing that the Commons were not satisfied with the ambiguous generality of this expression, gave an assurance that the existing patents should all be repealed and no more be granted. The Commons hailed their victory with exceeding great joy, though in effect her majesty did not revoke all the monopolies. Elizabeth now employed an oblique irony against some of the movers in the debate, but the imperious tone, the harsh schooling, of former years were gone. Her resolute will was now struggling in vain against the infirmities of her body, and she saw that there was a growing strength and spirit among the representatives of the people.

In the mean time the Lord Mountjoy, the successor to Essex in the command of Ireland, had to maintain a tremendous struggle, for Don Juan D'Aguilar landed at

Kinsale with four thousand Spanish troops, fortified himself skilfully in that position, and gave fresh life to the Catholic insurgents. But Mountjoy acted with vigour and decision; he collected all the forces he possibly could, and shut up the Spaniards within their lines at Kinsale. On Christmas Eve (1601) the Earl of Tyrone advanced to the assistance of his friends with six thousand native Irish and four hundred foreigners. His project was to attack the English besiegers by surprise before daylight, but Mountjoy, who was awake and ready, repulsed him from all points of his camp, and finally defeated him with great loss. Thereupon D'Aguilar capitulated, and was permitted to return to Spain with arms, baggage, and ammunition. His departure and the destructive ravages of famine brought the Irish to extremities, and Tyrone, after flying from place to place, capitulated, and, upon promise of life and lands, surrendered to Mountjoy at the end of 1602.*

Mountjoy's great victory at Kinsale somewhat revived the spirits of Elizabeth, who found further consolation in a tall Irish favourite. "Her eye," writes Beaumont, the French ambassador, "is still lively; she has good spirits, and is fond of life, for which reason she takes great care of herself: to which may be added an inclination for the Earl of Clancarty, a brave, handsome Irish nobleman. This makes her cheerful, full of hope and confidence respecting her age; this inclination is, besides, promoted by the whole court with so much art that I cannot sufficiently wonder at it. . . . . The flatterers about the court say this Irish earl resembles the Earl of Essex; the queen, on the other hand, with equal dissimulation, declares that she cannot like him because he too strongly revives her sorrow for that earl; and this contest employs the whole court." A few months afterwards, on the 19th of March, 1603, Beaumont informed his court that Elizabeth was sinking, and that disease, and not, as she alleged, her grief at the recent death of the Countess of Nottingham, had prevented her from showing herself

* Camden.

abroad,—that she had scarcely any sleep, and ate much less than usual,—that she had so great a heat of the mouth and stomach that she was obliged to cool herself every instant in order that the burning phlegm, with which she was often oppressed, might not stifle her. Some people, he said, were of opinion that her illness had been brought on by her displeasure touching the succession; some, that it had been caused by the Irish affairs, her council having constrained her (against her nature and inclination) to grant a pardon to the Earl of Tyrone; while others affirmed that she was possessed with grief for the death of the Earl of Essex. "It is certain," adds the ambassador, "that a deep melancholy is visible in her countenance and actions. It is, however, much more probable that the sufferings incident to her age, and the fear of death, are the chief causes of all." In his next despatch he says that the queen, who would take no medicine whatever, was given up by the physicians. She would not take to her bed, for fear, as some supposed, of a prophecy she should die in that bed. "For the last two days," he adds, "she has been sitting on cushions on the floor, neither rising nor lying down, her finger almost always in her mouth, her eyes open and fixed on the ground. . . . . Yet, as this morning the queen's band has gone to her, I believe she means to die as cheerfully as she has lived."

On the 21st of March she was put to bed, partly by force, and listened attentively to the prayers and discourses of the Bishop of Chichester, the Bishop of London, but chiefly to Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury. It is scarcely necessary to put the reader on his guard against an over-positive belief in any of the accounts of what passed in these moments of mystery and awe, when the people about her were determined to make her say the things that made most for their interest and plans. The narrative more generally received is, that, on the 22nd of March, Secretary Cecil, with the Lord Admiral and the Lord Keeper, approached the dying queen and begged her to name her successor: she started, and then said, "I told you my seat has been the seat of kings;—I

will have no *rascal* to succeed me!" The lords, not understanding this dark speech, looked the one on the other; but, at length, Cecil boldly asked her what she meant by those words,—no rascal? She replied that a king should succeed her, and who could that be but her cousin of Scotland? They then asked her whether that was her absolute resolution? whereupon she begged them to trouble her no more. Notwithstanding, some hours after, when the Archbishop of Canterbury and other divines had been with her, and had left her in a manner speechless, the three lords repaired to her again, and Cecil besought her, if she would have the King of Scots to succeed her, she would show a sign unto them. Whereat, suddenly heaving herself up in her bed, she held both her hands joined together over her head in manner of a crown. Then she sank down, fell into a dose, and, at three o'clock on the morning of the 24th of March,—which Bacon accounted "as a fine morning before sun-rising," meaning thereby the rising of James,—she died in a stupor, without any apparent pain of mind or body. She was in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth year of her reign.*

* Camden. — Somers. — Birch. — D'Israeli.—Raumer.—Lodge.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.

The history both of the changes that took place during this period in the constitution of the national church, and also, to some extent, of the new opinions, the controversies, and the persecutions out of which they arose, or by which they were accompanied, has necessarily been given in the preceding chapter. The task that remains to us here is little more than to fill up the outline that has been already drawn.

Throughout the reign of Henry VII., however, and the first half of that of his son and successor,—that is to say, for rather more than a third of the present period,—the ancient Roman faith was still both the all but universal belief of the people, and the yet unmodified and omnipotent religion of the law. As often happens with institutions in the last stage of their existence, the power and glory of the church of Rome, in England, seemed to blaze out to a new and unprecedented height immediately before its downfall. It is enough to remark that this was the age of Wolsey, the most gorgeous and puissant prelate that had arisen since Becket. All the highest and most influential officers of the state were still, for the most part, in the hands of churchmen: while they monopolised, of course, the management of ecclesiastical affairs, the civil affairs of the kingdom were also, to a large extent, under their conduct and direction;—they were generally both the ministers of the crown at home, and its ambassadors and most trusted agents abroad. This preference, which they had formerly demanded and struggled for so obstinately as their right, was now more fully accorded to them on the more reasonable ground of their superior qualifications, a ground which the ablest

and wisest kings—those from whom they would have experienced the most determined resistance to their pretensions of a more absolute kind—were the readiest to admit. Thus, the politic, circumspect, and acquisitive character of Henry VII. made him a favourer both of the church and of religion, without being either really religious or superstitious. This great king was a distinguished upholder of the authority of the laws in ordinary cases. Among his other legal improvements, Henry attempted at one time "to pare a little," as Bacon expresses it, "the privilege of clergy, ordaining that clerks convict should be burned in the hand, both because they might taste of some corporal punishment, and that they might carry a brand of infamy." But all his known favour for, and patronage of, the church, did not prevent this innovation from being denounced as a daring infringement of the rights of the ecclesiastical order. The very circumstances of the time that in reality and in their ultimate result tended to bring down the ancient church, had the effect for the present of raising it to greater authority and seeming honour. The unaccustomed murmurs of irreverence and opposition with which it was assailed afforded a pretext for suffering it to exercise its recognised rights with a high hand, and even for endowing it with some new powers:—the laws against heresy, for instance, were now stretched to a degree of severity never before known, and the church added to its ancient assumptions that of holding men's lives in its hands, and actually putting to death those of whose opinions it disapproved. These fires of martyrdom were more easily lighted than quenched.

It was in 1494, the ninth year of Henry VII., that the first English female martyr suffered. This was a widow named Joan Boughton, a woman of above eighty years of age. "She was," says Fox, "a disciple of Wycliffe, whom she accounted for a saint, and held so fast and firmly eight of his ten opinions, that all the doctors of London could not turn her from one of them." She was burned in Smithfield on the 28th of April.* Mrs.

* Fox, Acts and Monuments, p. 671 (edit. of 1570).

Boughton was mother to the Lady Young, who was also suspected of holding the same opinions, and who afterwards suffered the same death. In the course of the next two or three years a few old men and priests went with like heroism to the stake; but in general the persons charged with heresy at this time, when there was as yet little general excitement to animate and sustain them, shrunk from that dreadful death on a mere view of it, and purchased, by a recantation, the privilege of satisfying the law by an exposure to the fagots without the fire. The venerable historian of our martyrs has some curious notices of the fashion in which this ceremony was performed.* On other occasions, however, the commuted punishment was not entirely formal. In 1506, at the same time that William Tylsworth was burned in Amersham,—his only daughter being compelled to set fire to him with her own hands,—this daughter, with her husband, and, according to one account, more than sixty persons besides, all bore fagots, and were afterwards not only sent from town to town over the county of Buckingham to do penance with certain badges affixed to them, but were several of them burned in the cheek, and otherwise severely treated. "Divers of them," says Fox, "were enjoined to bear and wear fagots at Lincoln the space of seven years, some at one time, some at another.†

Among others who suffered in this reign was one Laurence Ghest, "who was burned in Salisbury for the matter of the Sacrament. He was of a comely and tall personage, and otherwise, as appeareth, not unfriended, for the which the bishop and the close (that is, the canons) were the more loth to burn him, but kept him in prison the space of two years. This Laurence had a wife and seven children."‡

Some notion of the peculiar opinions which were commonly held by the English heretics of this age may be gathered from the charges against some of those apprehended and examined by John Arundel, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, from 1496 to 1502, as

* Fox, Acts and Monuments, p. 671 (edit. of 1570).
† Ibid. p. 710. ‡ Ibid. p. 711.

recorded in the registers of that diocese. They were for the most part the same with the leading doctrines soon after proclaimed by Luther and the other Protestant reformers, embracing a denial of the merit of good works, of the warrantableness of the worship of images, of the efficacy of penance and pilgrimage, of the duty of praying to the saints or the Virgin, of the claims of the pope as successor of St. Peter, of purgatory, and of the transformation of the bread and wine in the sacrament. In some cases, however, we find, as might be expected, the contempt for the old belief breaking out with a curious acerbity or irreverence of expression in the enunciation of the new. There were of course varieties of faith, or want of faith, among the dissenters from the church; some went farther than others; and some seem to have stopped at the rejection of image-worship, without advancing so far as to question the worshipping of the Virgin.

The internal history of the established church in the period immediately preceding the downfall of the ancient religion is marked by few events. The successive archbishops of Canterbury during the reign of Henry VII. were, Cardinal Bourchier, whose long primacy of thirty-two years terminated in 1486; John Morton, the active and useful friend of Henry before he came to the crown, who was also invested with a cardinal's hat, and who survived till 1502; Henry Deane, who was archbishop only for a few months; and, lastly, William Warham, whose translation from London appears not to have taken place till towards the close of the year 1504, more than two years after the death of Deane.* The admonitory murmur of the coming storm of Reformation now made itself heard, among other ways, in the louder popular outcry that arose against the dissolute lives of many of the clergy; and the church authorities were led to make some efforts both to put down the outcry and to correct the evil. At a synod or council of the province of Canterbury, held in St. Paul's in February, 1487, com-

* Nicholas, Synopsis of Peerage, p. 820.

plaints having been made that the preachers of the order of St. John of Jerusalem were accustomed in their sermons at Paul's Cross to inveigh against their secular brethren in the hearing of the laity,—who, it was affirmed, all hated the clergy, and delighted to hear their vices exposed,—the Prior of St. John was, on the one hand, directed to prevent this great abuse for the future, and, on the other, a severe reprimand was administered to certain of the London clergy, who were accused of not only spending their whole time in taverns and alehouses, but even imitating the laity in their dress, and allowing their hair to grow long, so as to conceal their tonsure. The censure of the convocation was followed by a pastoral letter of the primate, in which the clergy were solemnly charged not to wear liripoops, or hoods, of silk, nor gowns open in front, nor embroidered girdles, *nor daggers*, and to keep their hair always so short that everybody might see their ears.* A few words were added in recommendation of residence; but the burthen of the exhortation was spent upon these matters of mere show and profession. Considerable alarm, however, was also excited at this time in the heads of the church by either the actual increase of immorality among the clergy, or the sharper eyes and more earnest inquisition with which the people now began to look into what had long existed. The monks, or regular clergy, were to the full as much as their secular brethren, the parish priests, the objects of this popular outcry. A bull was issued by Pope Innocent VIII. in 1490, in which his holiness, after setting forth—apparently without any doubt of its truth—the information he had received respecting the reprobate lives led by all the English monastic orders, directed Archbishop Morton to admonish the heads of all the convents in his province to reform themselves and those under them, and gave him authority, if his admonitions were neglected, to proceed to more decided measures. In consequence of the papal edict Morton appears to have sent letters to the superiors of all the religious

* Wilkins, Concilia.

houses in his province, of which one that has been preserved, addressed to the Abbot of St. Albans, describes the monks of that abbey as notoriously guilty, not only of libertinism in all its forms, but of almost every other kind of enormity.*

There is no reason to suppose that either papal or episcopal admonitions produced any amendment of this state of things during the reign of Henry VII. The date of the accession of Henry VIII. was marked in the history of the church by the termination of a fierce controversy, which had long raged between two great bodies of ecclesiastics, on a very delicate point of doctrine. The Franciscans, or Grey Friars, maintained that the Virgin Mary had been conceived and born wholly without original sin; their rivals, the Dominicans, or Black Friars, on the contrary, held that she had been conceived in the same manner with every other child of Adam, although they admitted that while still in her mother's womb she had been sanctified and cleansed from all original sin, in the same manner as, they said, John the Baptist and certain other privileged persons had been. "This frivolous question," says old Fox, "kindling and gendering betwixt these two sects of friars, brast out in such a flame of parts and sides taking, that it occupied the heads and wits, schools and universities, almost through the whole church, some holding one part with Scotus, some the other part with Thomas Aquinas." But besides these scandalous rivalries and quarrels among themselves, the clergy were imprudent or unfortunate enough about this time to get involved in some other contests, both with the civil authorities and with public opinion and the spirit of the age, out of which they did not come without still further damage to their reputations and their interests. Ever since the abrogation of the constitutions of Clarendon in the latter part of the reign of Henry II., the old clerical claim of immunity from the jurisdiction of the civil courts had been considered as settled in favour of ecclesiastical

* Wilkins, Concilia.

persons. But this was deservedly the subject of great and universal complaint; "for," as Burnet remarks, "it was ordinary for persons, after the greatest crimes, to get into orders; and then not only what was past must be forgiven them, but they were not to be questioned for any crime after holy orders given till they were first degraded; and till that was done, they were the bishop's prisoners." In fact, the difficulties which were thus interposed in the way of the conviction and punishment of ecclesiastical persons were such, as to enable them, to a great extent, to commit crimes of all sorts, without incurring the risk of any penalty at all adequate to the offence. In 1487, the fourth year of Henry VII., a statute had been passed enacting that, "whereas upon trust of the privilege of the church, divers persons lettered have been the more bold to commit murder, rape, robbery, theft, and all other mischievous deeds, because they have been continually admitted to the benefit of the clergy as oft as they did offend in any of the premises," —a startling enough exposition, it must be admitted, of the state to which things had been brought,—for the future, to persons not actually in holy orders, clergy should be allowed but once, and those convicted of murder should be marked with an M upon the brawn of the left thumb, and those convicted of any other felony with a T. In this state the law remained till the fourth year of Henry VIII., when a bill was brought into parliament, carrying out the principle of the late act so far as to ordain that the benefit of clergy should be wholly denied to all murderers and robbers. "But though this seemed a very just law," says Burnet, "yet, to make it pass through the House of Lords, they added two provisions to it; the one, for excepting all such as were within the holy orders of bishop, priest, or deacon; the other, that the act should only be in force till the next parliament. With these provisoes it was unanimously assented to by the Lords on the 26th of January, 1513, and being agreed to by the Commons, the royal assent made it a law; pursuant to which many murderers and felons were denied their clergy, and the law passed on them to the

great satisfaction of the whole nation." Neither the general popularity of the new statute, however, nor its manifest equity sufficed to mitigate the aversion with which it was regarded by the clergy; they saw in it only an encroachment upon the privileges of holy church, to which no consideration should induce them to submit. It was an injury and an insult neither to be endured nor forgiven. Accordingly, not satisfied with preventing the renewal of the act at the expiration of the short term to which their influence had caused it in the first instance to be limited, they set themselves to fix such a mark of reprobation upon it as should, they hoped, put down any similar attempt for ever after.

In the year 1514, a citizen of London, named Richard Hunne, a merchant tailor, fell into a dispute with the parson of a country parish in Middlesex, about a gift of a bearing-sheet, which the clergyman demanded as a mortuary, in consequence of an infant child of Hunne's having died in his parish, where it had been sent to be nursed. Hunne made some objection to the legality of the demand; but it is probable that he was secretly inclined to the new doctrines, and that this was the true cause of his refusal. Being sued in the spiritual court by the parson, he took out a writ of premunire against his pursuer for bringing the king's subjects before a foreign jurisdiction, the spiritual court sitting under the authority of the pope's legate. This daring procedure of the London citizen threw the clergy into a fury, and, as the most effectual way of crushing him, recourse was had to the terrible charge of heresy, upon which Hunne was apprehended and consigned to close imprisonment in the Lollard's Tower at St. Paul's. After a short time, being brought before Fitzjames, bishop of London, he was there interrogated respecting certain articles alleged against him, which imputed to him, in substance, that he had denied the obligation of paying tithes,—that he had read and spoken generally against bishops and priests, and in favour of heretics,—and, lastly, that he had "in his keeping divers English books prohibited and damned by the law, as the Apocalyse in English, epistles and

gospels in English, Wycliffe's damnable works, and other books containing infinite errors, in the which he hath been long time accustomed to read, teach, and study daily."* It appears that Hunne was frightened into a qualified admission of the truth of these charges; he confessed that although he had not said exactly what was asserted, yet he had "unadvisedly spoken words somewhat sounding to the same; for the which," he added, "I am sorry, and ask God mercy, and submit me unto my Lord's charitable and favourable correction." He ought upon this, according to the usual course, to have been enjoined penance and set at liberty; but, as he still persisted in his suit against the parson, he was the same day sent back to his prison, where, two days after, namely, on the 4th of December, he was found suspended from a hook in the ceiling, and dead. The persons in charge of the prison gave out that he had hanged himself; but a coroner's inquest came to a different conclusion. According to the account in Burnet, the jury "did acquit the dead body, and laid the murder on the officers that had the charge of that prison; and, by other proofs, they found the bishop's sumner† and the bell-ringer guilty of it. It may be suspected that the excited feelings and strong prejudices of the coroner's jury had perhaps as much share as the weight of circumstantial evidence in winning them to the belief of this not very probable story; but, be that as it may, the violence and indecency shown on the other side were fully equal to any they can be thought to have displayed. While the inquest was still going on, the Bishop of London and his clergy began a new process of heresy *against Hunne's dead body*. The new charges alleged against Hunne were comprised in thirteen articles, the matter of which was collected from the prologue or preface by Wycliffe to the English Bible that had been found in his possession. He, or rather his dead body, was condemned of heresy by sentence of the Bishop of London, assisted by the Bishops

* Fox, p. 737.

† Or summoner, the officer employed to cite parties before the ecclesiastical courts, more commonly called the apparitor.

of Durham and Lincoln, and by many doctors of divinity and the canon law; and the senseless carcase was actually, on the 20th of December, committed to the flames in Smithfield. This piece of barbarity, however, shocked instead of overawing the public sentiment. The affair now came before the parliament, and a bill, which had originated in the Commons, was passed, restoring to Hunne's children the goods of their father, which had been forfeited by his conviction. This, however, did not put an end to the contest. When the Bishop of London's chancellor and sumner had been charged on the finding of the coroner's jury as both principals in the murder, the convocation, in the hope probably of drawing off attention to another part of the case, called before them Dr. Standish, who had asserted the claims of the civil power in a debate before the king, and put him upon his defence for what he had said on that occasion; and an appeal was made to the conscience of Henry, that he would not interpose to shield the delinquent from justice, as he regarded his coronation oath, and would himself escape the censures of holy church. Henry's headstrong and despotic character had scarcely yet begun to develop itself; his pride as a true son of the church had received no check from coming into collision with any of his other selfish and overmastering passions: when the convocation, therefore, assailed him in this manner on the one hand, and the parliament on the other likewise addressed him "to maintain the temporal jurisdiction, according to his coronation oath, and to protect Standish from the malice of his enemies," he was thrown into great perplexity. So, to free his conscience, he commanded all the judges, and the members both of his temporal and his spiritual councils, together with certain persons from both houses of parliament, to meet at Blackfriars, and to hear the matter argued. This was done accordingly; and the discussion was terminated by the unanimous declaration of the judges, that all those of the convocation who had awarded the citation against Standish had made themselves liable to a premunire. Soon after, the whole body of the lords spiritual and temporal, with

all the judges and the king's council, and many members also of the House of Commons, having been called before the king at Baynard's Castle, Cardinal Wolsey, in the name of the clergy, humbly begged that the matter should be referred to the final decision of the pope at Rome. To this request, however, Henry made answer, with much spirit, "By the permission and ordinance of God, we are king of England; and the kings of England in times past had never any superior, but God only. Therefore, know you well that we will maintain the right of our crown, and of our temporal jurisdiction, as well in this as in all other points, in as ample a manner as any of our progenitors have done before our time." The renewed solicitations of the Archbishop of Canterbury, that the matter might at least be respited till a communication could be had with the court of Rome, had no effect in moving the king from his resolution; and Dr. Horsey, the Bishop of London's chancellor, against whom warrants were out, on the finding of the inquest, for his trial as one of the murderers of Hunne, seemed to be left to his fate. At this point, however, the clergy, or perhaps both parties, saw fit to make advances towards an accommodation: it was agreed that Horsey should surrender to take his trial; that he should not stand upon his benefit of clergy, but plead not guilty: and that, satisfied with this concession, the attorney-general should admit the plea, and the prisoner be discharged. This form was gone through, and Horsey immediately left London, where, it is said, he never again showed his face. Dr. Standish, however, was also, by the king's command, dismissed from his place in the court of convocation, so that the issue of the business by no means went altogether against the clergy. But, besides the augmented popular odium to which they were exposed, from the strong suspicion that was entertained that Hunne had been murdered, a heavy blow had been undoubtedly dealt at their favourite pretension of exemption from the jurisdiction of the civil courts in criminal cases.

In the unsettled and wavering state of men's minds, at this time, upon the subject of religion, the part taken

by any king, and especially by a king of Henry's temper, could not fail to act with powerful effect either in steadying for a space the tremulous mass of the popular thought and feeling, or in swaying it in the direction of his own passions and convictions. Yet the planet that so far ruled the tides of this great moral ocean was for many years undoubtedly influenced in its own movements by another more lordly spirit, that drew it along, perhaps without suffering it to feel its bondage, but not on that account with the less potent control. For nearly the whole of the first half of Henry's reign the real king of England was his minister Wolsey, a man whose greatness was linked to the ascendancy of the ancient church. So long as Wolsey's favour lasted, his royal master was wholly in his hands. With one at the head of affairs personally interested to so deep an extent in its support, the church was secure from any attack—from any abridgment of its wealth or power, by the king or the government. Yet even the greatness of Wolsey, while it thus threw a temporary protection over the church, perhaps contributed also to hasten its downfall. The ruin of this magnificent ecclesiastic himself was in part brought about by the arrogance and rapacity to which he gave way in the giddiness of his towering fortunes. But if by his oppressive proceedings he made all men his enemies, and when the support of the royal favour was withdrawn, left himself without either any foundation of popularity on which to stand, or almost even a friendly arm or bosom to break his fall, we may be satisfied that so odious an exhibition of priestly insolence and pride could not but also have its effect in widening the general alienation from the whole order to which he belonged.

The Reformation was very far from being completed under Henry VIII.—indeed, the English church, as he left it, was scarcely reformed at all except in regard to a few points of its external or political constitution—but still the work, in being merely begun, was already more than half finished. Henry, in having set as it were the wheel of change in motion, is justly esteemed the true

author of the whole mighty result—of that part of it which he resisted or did not contemplate at all, as well as of that which he urged on and actually saw realised. The Reformation in England was his doing, infinitely more than that of any other person who in any way took part in the work—of his successors Edward and Elizabeth, for instance, who built upon the ground that he had cleared and the foundation that he had laid—or even of such men as Wycliffe, who helped, by their preachings and writings, to draw men away from the old church, or as Cranmer and his fellow-labourers, who, by the like exertions, endeavoured to bring them over and attach them to the new. Yet in all that Henry did, and all that he would not do, in the matter of religion, throughout his reign, it is curious to observe how he was acted upon by the changing circumstances of his own personal position,—how the despot, so potent alike to destroy and, for the moment at least, to preserve from destruction, was driven along the whole of his furious and contradictory course by the pettiest of private interests, vanities, and passions. The history of the English Reformation is the history of this king's fits of temper; of his likings and dislikings; of the flatteries addressed to him from one quarter, and the provocations he received from another; of his pecuniary difficulties; of his amours, jealousies, and suspicions; of the swellings and ebbings of his pedantry and self-conceit; of the very fluctuations of his bodily distempers and sores.

Eight years after Henry came to the throne the first movement was made, unconsciously, by Martin Luther, in that great rebellion against the ancient church which has made his name immortal. It does not appear that Luther, at the commencement of his career, had any acquaintance with the writings of Wycliffe, Huss, Jerome of Prague, and the other remarkable men by whom the Roman church had been assailed in the two preceding centuries; indeed, at this stage he would have felt little sympathy with the greater part of those writings, for he was as yet a good Catholic, and had not for a moment doubted either the authority of the pope or any of the

commonly received doctrines of the church. He was a believer in the real presence, in purgatory, in the efficacy of penances, of pilgrimages, of prayers for the dead, of prayers to the saints, in the warrantableness of the adoration of the Virgin, of the crucifix, and of images, in the virtue of relics, in the authority of tradition, in the duty of auricular confession, and in all those other dogmas of the ancient faith which at a later period he rejected and denounced. The one article of the common belief which startled him, and against which he raised his voice in the first instance, was the doctrine of indulgences; and even as to this matter he continued for some years to cling to the notion that his dispute was merely with certain individuals, and by no means either with the pope or the general body of the church. These indulgences professed to convey, to whomsoever purchased them, a release from the pains of purgatory; and the very denial of their efficacy implied a belief in the existence of purgatory. Luther not disputing the reality of purgatory, denied that it was competent for men, by the mere payment of a sum of money, to obtain a quittance from any part of the punishment to which they had made themselves liable by their sins. He had become convinced, from his study of the Scriptures, that their fundamental doctrine was, that the remission of sin could only be obtained by justification through faith in the sacrifice of Christ; and upon this one great principle he took his stand. When Tetzel and his associates, in their eagerness to dispose of their wares, cried them up even in terms going far beyond the professions of the document itself, Luther first exposed the delusion they were practising upon the people from the pulpit; and then published ninety-five theses or propositions directed against the whole doctrine of indulgences, which he engaged to maintain at a public disputation, on a day which he named, against any one who should oppose them by writing or word of mouth. The disputation did not take place: on the appointed day no defender of the denounced indulgences appeared; but Luther's ninety-five propositions were read with avidity

over all Germany; and from that hour the spirit was awakened which never again slumbered or slept till it had set up and established a new and mighty rival empire of opinion. For some time the controversy between the German monk and his opponents attracted no notice from the court of Rome; at length, however, in July, 1518, Leo summoned him to appear at Rome within sixty days. His Holiness was afterwards prevailed upon, by the representations not only of Luther himself, but of his colleagues in the University of Wittemberg and of the Elector of Saxony, to appoint the hearing of the case to take place in Germany; and Luther accordingly made his appearance at Augsburg before the papal legate Cardinal Cajetano, who began with an attempt to carry his point by dint of logic, but, finding that of no avail, soon had recourse to a more summary method of procedure, and commanded Luther at once to recant his heresy simply out of deference to the apostolic see. The intrepid monk refused compliance; but even yet he made no movement towards throwing off the authority of the pope. Apprehensive of being arrested, by the advice of his friends he withdrew secretly from Augsburg; but, before he went, he drew up an appeal from the pope, imperfectly informed as he then was, to the pope, after he should have been fully instructed in the merits of the cause. It was impossible, however, that, having advanced so far, he should stop long at this point. Protected by the Elector Frederick, he soon after, abandoning the expectation of a fair hearing from the pope, made his appeal to a general council. It was not long before he followed up this declaration by openly questioning even the supremacy assumed by the pope over other bishops, —in other words, all the peculiar pretensions of the Roman see. This was in 1519. On the 15th of June of the following year, 1520, was issued the memorable papal bull, declaring forty-one propositions extracted out of Luther's works to be heretical and scandalous; forbidding all persons to read his writings upon pain of excommunication; commanding those who had any of them in their possession to commit them to the flames;

and pronouncing against their author the sentence of excommunication, with all its terrible penalties, spiritual and temporal, unless he should publicly recant his errors and burn his books within the space of sixty days. This at once placed the two parties, the followers of the German reformer and the adherents of the ancient church, in hostile array. Luther, now fairly cast forth from the Roman communion, kept no measures with the power which he opposed; in reply to the pope's bull of excommunication, he boldly declared that personage to be anti-Christ, and called upon all Christian princes to cast off his tyrannical and degrading yoke. When his own books were burnt at Rome, he retaliated by burning the volumes of the canon law at Wittemberg, in presence of the professors and students of the university and a throng of other spectators. One of the first acts of the new emperor, Charles V., was to appoint a diet of the empire to meet at Worms on the 6th of January, 1521, expressly for the purpose of putting down the new opinions. On the summons of this assembly Luther presented himself before them to defend his doctrines; the diet, however, declared him to be deprived, as an excommunicated heretic, of all his rights as a subject of the empire, and forbade any prince to harbour or protect him after the expiration of the term specified in the safe-conduct upon which he had come up. From the dangers to which he was exposed by this edict he was saved by the interposition of his friend the Elector Frederick, who caused him to be intercepted, on his way home, and carried off to the fortress of Wartburg, in which he remained concealed for nine months. But the winged words and opinions that had already gone forth from his lips and his pen were not to be recalled or chained down; their infection spread throughout Germany and other countries with the common air that men breathed; nor, though hidden alike from his followers and his opponents, was Luther's animating voice even now unheard in the great battle he had awakened: by the aid of the press, to which he from time to time resorted while thus withdrawn from other converse with his fellow-men, he still

made the fervid eloquence of his reasonings and his denouncements ring throughout Christendom.

It was at this crisis that Henry VIII. first adventured to break a lance in the contest in which he was ere long to act a part of which he now little dreamed. Throughout the earlier part of his reign the King of England, as we have seen, was the most zealous and devoted son of the church. During three years his devotion to the holy see was not only secured by the ascendancy of Wolsey, but was besides fed and inflamed by other influences. His pedantry and vanity were engaged in the same cause with his deference for his great minister and favourite. The king's work was printed in a quarto volume at London, with the title, "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martyn Luther, &c." (Defence of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther.) Henry was amazingly delighted with the title, Defender of the Faith, with which the pope rewarded his learned labours —"affecting it," says Burnet, "always beyond all his other titles, though several of the former kings of England had carried the same title, as Spelman informs us."* The whole matter, according to Strype, was contrived by Wolsey, to engage Henry the more firmly against Lutheranism, and in the putting down of the heretical books which were now brought over from the continent in great numbers, and dispersed through the kingdom.

Henry's book was immediately answered by Luther, and that in a fashion calculated to cure kings of the ambition of controversy. Not only did the sturdy reformer throw aside all deference for the rank of his royal opponent, but he even denied him the credit of being the author of the book of which he was so vain. A few

* "By a singular felicity in the wording of the title," observes a more recent writer, "it suited Henry equally well, when he burned Papists or Protestants; it suited each of his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth; it fitted the martyr Charles and the profligate Charles; the Romish James and the Calvinist William; and at last seemed peculiarly adapted to the weak head of high church Anne."—*Walpole, Royal and Noble Authors.*

years afterwards Luther vainly hoped to soften him by an apology and explanation couched in the most submissive and self-abasing terms.

But after the lapse of three or four years more, the symptoms of a great change began to appear. In 1527 Henry fell in love with Anne Boleyn, began to feel scruples about the lawfulness of his marriage with Catherine, who had now been eighteen years his wife, and, urged by the said scruples and his passion together, proceeded to take steps for getting rid of Catherine. For two years he plied every effort to get the court of Rome to go along with him in this scheme, threatening, that if he were not allowed to have his way in the matter of the divorce, England should no longer remain a Popish country. At length, in the summer of 1529, the accident of Cranmer having suggested the bold expedient of having the marriage dissolved without asking leave of the pope, at once transferred the affections and confidence of the king from Wolsey to this new adviser, causing the ruin of the one and the elevation of the other. In the following year he put forth a proclamation prohibiting the introduction into, or the publication in, the kingdom of any bull from Rome, under pain of incurring his indignation, in addition to imprisonment and the other punishments awarded to the offence by the ancient statutes. The established clergy now found the crown, hitherto their steady friend and protector, changed into a hostile power. From this point the course of Henry's ecclesiastical innovations went on at an accelerated rate. Anne Boleyn, notoriously disposed in favour of the opinions of the innovators in religion,—already distinguished by the name of Protestants, which was first given to them on their protest against the proceedings of the Diet of Spires, 19th April, 1530,—was now Queen of England; Cranmer, the head of the English Lutherans, was archbishop of Canterbury; he and Cromwell, another decided favourer of the new doctrines, were the king's chief ministers. In this the height of the new tide that had set in upon the stream of affairs, all that remained of the authority of Rome was soon swept away.

To Cromwell especially belongs the credit of having

been Henry's chief instrument in his next undertaking as an ecclesiastical reformer—his attack upon the monastic institutions. According to Strype it was "the refractoriness of those of the Benedictine order to the king's proceedings" that "made him think it convenient to look a little more narrowly into their behaviour, and to animadvert upon their irregularities, of which there were reports enough: and this being resolved upon, he thought good to make one work of it, and to have all convents and religious societies besides visited also." The visitation began in October, 1535, and comprehended not only all monasteries, but all collegiate churches, hospitals, and cathedrals, and also the houses of the order of the Knights of Jerusalem. The object professed, of course, was the reformation of the lives of the monks; but the real motives appear to have been different. Concurring with the scandals that were abroad as to the relaxed discipline of the several orders, "their secret practices against the king," says Burnet, "both in the matter of his divorce and supremacy, made him more willing to examine the truth of these reports." And the historian goes on to observe that, among other motives which inclined the king to the project, one was that he was apprehensive of a war with the emperor, and was in great want of money. The only immediate result of this first visitation was the voluntary surrender of six or seven of the smaller and poorer houses to the crown, on the ground, as was affirmed, of their revenues being so encumbered that they must otherwise very speedily have come to ruin, both in their spiritual and temporal concerns. Henry's intentions may be best judged from his acts. Within a few months an act was passed by parliament suppressing all religious houses whose annual revenue was less than 200*l.*, and giving their lands, rents, cattle, plate, jewels, and all other property to the king. By this act 376 monasteries were at once swept away, and Henry was enriched by lands computed to be worth 32,000*l.* per annum, and other spoils of the estimated value of 100,000*l.*, but in reality amounting to these sums several times over.

In the following year, 1537, a new visitation was

gun of all the remaining monasteries, with the design of subjecting as many of them as possible to the same fate with those that had been already confiscated. This was so clearly perceived that, in a great many instances, voluntary surrenders were now made by the abbots and other heads of houses. "There were great complaints," Burnet relates, "made of the visitors, as if they had practised with the abbots and priors to make these surrenders, and that they had conspired with them to cheat the king, and had privately embezzled most of the plate and furniture. The Abbess of Chepstow complained, in particular, of Dr. London, one of the visitors, that he had been corrupting her nuns; and generally it was cried out that underhand and ill practices were used. Therefore, to quiet these reports, and to give some colour to justify what they were about, all the foul stories that could be found out were published to defame these houses." In most cases, it would seem, where the house was not recommended for total suppression, a fine or annual tax was laid upon it; and even where it was not pretended that the inmates were chargeable with any irregularities, the real object of the visitation, the extraction of money, was equally kept in view. Thus we find the nuns of the convent of Styxwold, against whom nothing appears to have been alleged, fined to the amount of 200 marks, besides an annual pension or tax of 34*l*. But besides the fines imposed in the name of the king, there is every reason to believe that another customary mode of composition was by bribing the visitors or their master, Cromwell. The visitation of the monasteries, which was, in effect, a forcing of them one after another to surrender, was continued for some years, until the greater number of them had been thus given up into the king's hands; and then, in 1539, the parliament passed an act confirming to the king and his successors for ever both all those that had been thus already resigned, and all that should be suppressed, forfeited, or given up thereafter. The effect of this act was immediately to put down all the still existing monasteries in England. Altogether, by its operation, the possessions of 644 convents, 90 colleges,

2374 chantries and free chapels, and 110 hospitals, were annexed to the crown. The clear yearly value of all the houses thus suppressed was, at the rents actually paid, only about 130,000*l.*; but Burnet affirms that their real value was at least *ten times* as much. Besides this, plate, jewels, and goods of all kinds to a vast amount must have been obtained from this wholesale confiscation. To enlist the popular feeling in favour of the measure, it was given out that its effect would be to relieve the king's subjects for the future from all services and taxes; and that in place of the abbots, monks, friars, and nuns, there would be raised and maintained forty new earls, sixty barons, three thousand knights, and forty thousand soldiers, commanded by skilful officers, out of the revenues of the abolished establishments. It was also promised both that there should be a better provision made for the poor, and that preachers should be handsomely paid to go about every where, and preach the true religion. "But," says Strype, "nothing of this came to pass." Of the whole of the immense revenue that accrued to the crown from the abolition of the monasteries, a fraction of about eight thousand pounds per annum only was bestowed upon the endowment of the six new bishoprics of Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester, and the substitution of canons for the disbanded monks in several of the old cathedral churches.

Henry may be regarded as having continued to move, in the main, in a Protestant direction throughout the period of his three Protestant marriages with Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour, and Anne of Cleves. During this space several minor reforms were carried into effect, besides the great work of the confiscation of the monasteries. Among these one of the most memorable was the communication to the people, under the royal authority, of the Scriptures in their mother tongue. Wycliffe's version, as was formerly mentioned, had translated both the Old and the New Testament before the end of the fifteenth century; and even long before his day the whole Bible, according to a statement of Sir Thomas More, had been "by virtuous and well-learned men, translated into

English tongue, and by good and godly people, with devotion and soberness, well and reverently read." Cranmer also asserts that, when the Saxon tongue, in which the first version was made, "waned old and out of common usage," the Scripture was again translated into the newer language, "whereof," he adds, "yet also many copies be found." But the first English translation of any part of the Scriptures that was printed was the translation of the New Testament, by William Tyndal (otherwise called Hotchin), assisted by a friar named Roy and others, which appeared in an octavo volume at Antwerp in 1526. The edition consisted of fifteen hundred copies, nearly all of which appear to have been sent over to England. Here they were purchased and read with wonderful eagerness by the people, and not the less so for the prohibition that was issued by Wolsey, and published by every bishop in his diocese. At one time the clergy sought to repress the curiosity of the people about Tyndal's Testament by giving out that they intended immediately to put forth a translation of their own; but this project, if it ever was seriously entertained, was soon thrown aside; and at length, about the end of May, 1530, a paper was drawn up by Warham, More, Tunstall, and other eminent canonists and divines, which every incumbent was commanded to read to his congregation, intimating that, the king having consulted certain prelates and learned men of both universities as to various treatises on doctrinal subjects lately set out in the English tongue, they had agreed in condemning them as containing several things that were heretical; and that, upon the question as to the necessity or expediency of a translation of the Bible, "they were of opinion that, though it had been sometimes done, yet it was not necessary, and that the king did well not to set it out at that time in the English tongue."

The course, however, in which all things were now moving, made it impossible that what may almost be called the fundamental principle of Protestantism, the free circulation of the Scriptures among the people, could be much longer resisted. The convocation of 1536, ac-

cordingly, at the same time that the parliament passed the first act for the dissolution of the monasteries, agreed by a majority, on the motion of Cranmer, to petition the king that he would give orders for the preparation of an English translation of the Bible. The project was at first opposed by a powerful party at court, and Henry for some time hesitated; but it was represented to him on the other side, that nothing would make the pope and the monks so hateful to the nation, or his own supremacy so acceptable, as giving the people the free use of the word of God; and "these arguments," says Burnet, "joined with the power that the queen had in his affections, were so much considered by the king that he gave order for setting about it immediately." Already, however, in the preceding year there had been produced on the continent a complete English translation of the Bible, by Miles Coverdale. Coverdale's Bible, which is conjectured, from the form of the types, to have been printed at Zurich, was dedicated to the King of England. It was in folio, and appears to have been the volume which in 1536, immediately after the order had been issued for the preparation of a new translation to be set forth by authority, Cromwell, as the king's vicar-general and vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters, commanded to be procured by every parish, and chained to a pillar or desk in the choir of the church, for all to read at their pleasure. This was done, that the resolution taken in favour of laying open the word of God to the people might not remain inoperative while the new translation was in hand. To whom that work was committed, or how the persons engaged proceeded in it, Burnet says he had not been able to ascertain; the direction was probably left with Cranmer, with whom the proposal had originated, and it is believed that Coverdale was one of the principal persons employed. When ıe translation was at last finished, it was sent to be pri d at Paris, by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchu ı; but, although the printers had previously obtained ıe French king's licence to undertake the work, their ɔ- rations were interrupted by the clamours of the cle r,

and they were obliged to withdraw to London, where the volume was at last finished in April, 1539. This first authorised English Bible, which is known by the name of Cranmer's or the Great Bible, is a folio, like Coverdale's, and the text, in the main, is little more than a corrected edition of his.

A set of injunctions was now issued to the clergy by Cromwell, in his quality of ecclesiastical vicegerent, one of which directed each incumbent to provide before a certain day a copy of the new Great Bible, and to set up the same in some convenient place within the church, where the parishioners might most commodiously resort to it and read it; the charge to be borne one-half by the parson, and the other by the parishioners. But hardly had the fountain of divine truth been thus unsealed, when Henry deemed it necessary to interfere to check the unregulated eagerness with which the popular appetite rushed to drink of the long-imprisoned waters. Some curious traits of the first excitement produced by the new charter of intellectual freedom are preserved in a royal proclamation which was set forth in the beginning of May, 1539, and which is further remarkable as the first that was issued under the statute giving to the proclamations of the king in council the force of acts of parliament. It is here alleged that, while on the one hand some persons craftily sought, by their preachings and teachings, to restore in the realm "the old devotion to the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, the hypocrite's religion, superstition, pilgrimages, idolatry, and other evil and naughty ceremonies and dreams, justly and lawfully abolished and taken away by authority of God's word," others wrested the Holy Scriptures so as "to subvert and overturn as well the sacraments of holy church as the power and authority of princes and magistrates, and in effect generally all laws and common justice, and the good and laudable ordinances and ceremonies necessary and convenient to be used and continued; some of them also using the Scripture permitted to them by the king's goodness, in the English tongue, at such times and places, and after such

fashions and sorts, as it is not convenient to be suffered." Both parties, it is affirmed, were accustomed to dispute respecting their opinions with excessive heat and arrogance both in the churches and in alehouses and taverns; "one part of them calling the other papist, and the other part calling the other heretic." The use of either of these epithets is thereupon strictly forbidden, unless the person applying it can justly and lawfully prove the truth of his charge. And then it is commanded that "no person except such as be curates or graduates in any of the universities of Oxford or Cambridge, or such as be or shall be admitted to preach by the king's licence, or by his vicegerent, or by any bishop of the realm, shall teach or preach the Bible or New Testament, nor expound the mysteries thereof to any other; nor that any person or persons shall openly read the Bible or New Testament in the English tongue, in any churches or chapels, or elsewhere, with any loud or high voice, and especially during the time of divine service, or of celebrating and saying of masses; but virtually and devoutly to hear their divine services and masses, and use that time in reading and praying with peace and stillness, as good Christian men use to do." "Notwithstanding," it is added, "the king is still pleased to permit that such as can and will in the English tongue, shall and may quietly and reverently read the Bible and New Testament by themselves secretly at all times and places convenient for their own instruction and edification." They are warned, however, to beware of their own presumptuous and arrogant expositions, and to resort humbly to such as were learned in holy Scripture for their instruction as to all doubtful points. Most of the stronger and more restrictive expressions in this proclamation, it deserves to be noted, were inserted by Henry himself.* He was soon after this, indeed, prevailed upon to grant letters patent prohibiting all persons from printing the Bible in the English tongue in any manner of volume for five

* See the Proclamation as printed by Strype, with the king's deletions and other alterations, in Eccles. Mem., Append. No. ex.

years, except such as Cromwell should depute and assign.

In May, 1541, a year after the fall of Cromwell, another proclamation was issued, on occasion of a new impression of the Bible being finished, enforcing the order formerly made by that minister, that a copy of the book should be fixed and set up openly in every parish church, which had been neglected by "divers and many towns and parishes." A penalty was imposed upon all who should not comply with the order before the Feast of All Saints next ensuing. Care was taken at the same time to reiterate the admonition that the people should read the Bibles in the churches "humbly, meekly, reverently, and obediently," and that none of them "should read the said Bibles with high and loud voices; or in time of the celebration of the holy mass, and other divine services used in the church;" and that none of the laity "reading the same should presume to take upon them any common disputation, argument, or exposition of the mysteries therein contained." In obedience to the proclamation, Bonner, now Bishop of London, ordered six of the great Bibles to be set up in different places in his cathedral of St. Paul's with a short admonition to the same effect suspended upon each of the pillars to which the books were chained; but the irregularities objected to by no means ceased. In the following year, 1542, a direct attack was made upon the English Bible in the convocation: the translation was complained of as full of faults, and an attempt was made to get it condemned till a new and more correct one should be made by the bishops, who, probably, if the task had been committed to them, would have been in no hurry to finish it. The scheme of a new translation, however, was defeated by the management of Cranmer, who induced the king to take the middle course of referring the existing translation to the perusal of the two universities. The great majority of the bishops protested against this decision; but the convocation was soon after dissolved, and nothing more was done for the present.

In the year 1532 was reprinted, probably for the last

time without alteration, the old Church-book, or directory for public worship, entitled the Festival, consisting chiefly of extracts from the Golden Legend, or book of the biography of the saints. It was of course a thoroughly Popish manual, inculcating all the common doctrines of the Romish church with as little reserve or qualification as if nobody had ever yet ventured to call any of them in question. In what is called the Bedes, or instructions to the people what and whom they are to pray for, the pope and his college of cardinals are set down in the first place after the good estate and peace of holy church; and in the sequel are enumerated "all abbots, priors, monks, canons, friars, pilgrims," &c. The seven sacraments, the seven deeds of mercy, the seven deadly sins, the nine manners of horrible pains, and the nine manners of people that shall be tormented therewith, are all faithfully set forth and expounded. Images are commended as signs or means whereby men should learn "whom they should worship and follow in living," although to do God's worship to them is forbidden. The benefits of hearing mass are extolled in some singular expressions.

Strype conceives that this book was not wholly laid aside till after the close of the reign of Henry VIII. Some corrections, however, were of necessity made in it immediately after Henry's breach with the pope, and some more as he proceeded with his further reforms. In the course of the very next year, 1533, before the pope's authority was cast off by the parliament, Henry himself wrote and published a treatise in Latin against the tyranny and horrible impiety of the Bishop of Rome, (De Potestate Christianorum Regum in suis ecclesiis, contra Pontificis tyrannidem et horribilem impietatem). In the same session of parliament in which an end was put to the authority of the pope, some relief from severity of the old laws against heresy was obtained the new act, which declared that speaking against Bishop of Rome and his decrees should no longer considered to constitute that offence, and, among ot alleviations of the ancient process, ordained that t

charge should be proved by two lawful witnesses at the least,—that the trial should be in public,—and that the accused person might be bailed at the discretion of two justices of the peace. This year also an order was issued by the king, in his capacity of supreme head of the church, which had the effect of doing away with the use of the form in the Festival called the General Sentence or Curse, which was wont to be read to the people four times every year in the course of the church service. This long and comprehensive denunciation was directed with especial vehemence against all who in any way injured or troubled the state of holy church, by withdrawing offerings, tithes, rents, or other ecclesiastical dues—by violating the rights of sanctuary,—by calling in the aid of the civil power in matters appertaining to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction,—by retaining possession of houses, manors, or other property belonging to the church,—or in any one of various other ways that were specified. The king's order to the bishops was to leave out in the General Sentence all such articles as tended to the glory and advancement of the Bishop of Rome; but the effect, as has been mentioned, was to cause the Curse to be soon laid aside altogether.

As yet, however, with the exception only of the single doctrine, if it could be so called, of the papal supremacy, no alteration was made in any part of the ancient national profession of faith. This very year, on the petition of the convocation, Henry issued a strict proclamation against the importation and possession of what were called heretical books. Among these, according to a list published a few years before, were Tyndal's New Testament, and the various treatises of Luther, Huss, Zuinglius, and the other continental reformers. In this and subsequent years many persons even suffered at the stake for the offence of importing and dispersing such books.

The friars, it is well known, early drew upon themselves the determined hostility of the king by their almost universal opposition to him, and advocacy of the cause of Catherine, in the affair of the divorce. But the best handle which they gave him for the execution of

his designs for their destruction, arose out of the business of the Holy Maid of Kent, of whose prophecies their zeal and credulity made them very generally either the dupes, or at least the pretended believers and upholders.*

The Nun of Kent and her confederates, or rather those who made use of her as their instrument, were put to death in 1534. At this time, under the ascendancy of Cranmer and Cromwell, and the still unimpaired influence of his young and beautiful queen Anne, Henry showed perhaps more of an inclination towards Protestantism than at any other period of his life.

Some notion of the mixed religion patronised at this date by the authorities in England may be gathered from a work entitled 'King Henry's Primer;' a second edition of which appeared, in a quarto volume, in 1535, put forth professedly by Dr. Marshal, archdeacon of Nottingham. It consisted of a collection of tracts on the different parts of divine worship, most of which seem to have been published before at different times, but were now revised and accompanied by prefatory admonitions in the spirit of the prevailing system. On the whole, the work inculcated, though covertly, a sort of half-protestantism. In an exposition of the Ten Commandments, with which it commenced, what we call the second commandment was, after the common popish fashion, treated as part of the first, but in others of the pieces the Protestant distinction between the two was recognised. The topic of the unwarrantableness of the worship of the Virgin and the saints is pressed with little reserve. In one place, indeed, the writer ventures to point out the great danger the people ran of falling into idolatry by the practice of such worship, and comes to this bold conclusion: "That it was not meet, comely, nor fitting, that in our prayers we should make a god or saviour of any saint in heaven; no, not of our blessed Lady." Still, however, the Litany, although given in English, and prefaced by an argument against praying to saints, was left with all the old addresses to the Virgin, to the angels, to the twelve apostles, the

* See ante, vol. vi. p. 203

martyrs, confessors, and virgins, calling upon them for their intercession in behalf of the worshipper. The Matins, Even Song, and Seven Penitential Psalms, were all likewise given in English. In a 'Devout and Fruitful Remembrance of Christ's Passion,' an attack was made upon the superstition of thinking that any benefits could accrue from carrying about the person images, painted papers, or carved crosses, designed, as was pretended, to be helps towards beholding the passion of Christ—that by such means, for instance, safety could be secured from fire, water, or any other peril. Perhaps, however, the most daring instance of speaking out occurs in the admonition prefixed to the *Dirige*, popularly called the *Dirge*, which was the office that used to be said for the souls of the dead. There is no alteration in the old form, except that the words are translated into English; but in the prefatory observations the writer says, "Among other works of darkness and deep ignorance, wherein we have blindly wandered, following a sort of blind guides many days and years, I account this not one of the least, that we have rung and sung, mumbled, murmured, and piteously puled forth a certain sort of psalms, with responds, versicles, and lessons to the same, for the souls of our Christian brethren and sisters departed out of this world." "There is nothing," it is added, "in the *Dirige*, taken out of the Scripture, that makes any more mention of the souls departed, than doth the tale of *Robin Hood*."

In his present circumstances, threatened as he was with the vengeance of the emperor for his treatment of Catherine, the friendship of the Protestant princes of Germany was of the greatest importance to Henry; and he never, before or after, went so far in the direction of the new opinions in religion as he now did in his endeavours to secure that object. After some preliminary negotiation, in the beginning of the year 1536, the Elector of Saxony and the other chiefs of the Lutheran confederacy presented their proposals to him in a "petition and request," consisting of fourteen articles, his answer to which, printed by Burnet in his Supplement, from the original in the State Paper Office, exhibits

him to us in the most Protestant character he ever assumed.

"This negotiation," says Burnet, "sunk to a great degree upon Queen Anne's tragical fall; and as the king thought they were no more necessary to him, so they saw his intractable humour, and had no hope of succeeding with him unless they would have allowed him a dictatorship in matters of religion." In another place the same historian admits, in substance, that Henry now arrogated to himself, in matters of religion, an infallibility and authority as absolute as had ever been claimed by the most imperious or intolerant of the popes. He thought all persons were bound to regulate their belief by his dictates.

In the convocation which met in June this year, and in which Cromwell occupied the chief seat as the king's vicegerent, a great deal of debate took place touching the new opinions in religion. Sixty-seven of these opinions, embracing the principal tenets of the old Lollards and Wycliffites, of the Lutherans and other Protestant reformers of the day, and of the fanatical Anabaptists, were complained of by the lower house as prevalent errors that demanded correction. The representation also noticed many extravagant and indecorous expressions, and irreverent jests touching confession, praying to saints, holy water, and the other ceremonies of the church, and called for their suppression, not without some oblique reflections on Cranmer and his few brethren on the bench of the same way of thinking with himself, as having neglected their duty in not putting down such abuses. Cromwell, however, still had influence enough with Henry to obtain from him a declaration rebuking, at least by implication, this officious zeal of the clergy, and rather intimating a favourable disposition towards some of the denounced opinions. It was stated to be t king's pleasure that the rites and ceremonies of t church should be reformed by the rules of Scripture, a that nothing should be maintained which did not rest that authority. Afterwards many of the doctrinal poi in dispute between the two parties were discussed

great length. In the end certain articles were agreed upon, which, after being in several places corrected and tempered by the king's own hand, were signed by Cromwell, Cranmer, and seventeen other bishops, forty abbots and priors, and fifty archdeacons and proctors of the lower house, and were finally confirmed by the king, and published, with a preface in his name.

The articles began with a distinct admission of the great Protestant principle of the supremacy of the Bible, qualified only by the addition, to which few Protestants would then object—that the three ancient creeds, that of the Apostles, the Nicene, and the Athanasian, should be held to be of equal authority with the Scriptures. When particular controverted matters, however, came to be spoken of, the language employed was not always so explicit and decisive, or at least was not always perfectly consistent with this introductory announcement. In regard to baptism the opinions of the Anabaptists and Pelagians were declared to be detestable heresies. Concerning penance it was affirmed that it was instituted by Christ, and was absolutely necessary to salvation—that it consisted of contrition, confession, and amendment of life, with exterior works of charity—that confession to a priest is necessary, if it may be had—that his absolution is spoken by an authority given to him by Christ in the gospel, and must be believed as if it were spoken by God himself—that therefore none were to condemn auricular confession, but to use it for the comfort of their consciences. In the article touching the sacrament of the altar the dogma of transubstantiation was laid down in the most unqualified terms. In another article the necessity of good works to salvation was distinctly asserted, and so far there was a rejection of the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone; but on the other hand it was conceded that a sinner will not be justified by God for the merit or worthiness of any good work he may have done; and it was noted with especial prominence and emphasis that the good works necessary to salvation were not only external acts, but the inward motions and graces of God's holy spirit. The same struggle and intermixture of

opposite opinions is to be discerned in what is said on the subject of images; here, again, the old practice being retained, but guarded, and in some degree corrected and checked, by the modern principle. As for the estimation in which the saints were to be held, it was laid down, with the like ingenious indentation and dovetailing of the two colours of opinion, first, that people were not to think to obtain those things at the hands of the saints which were to be obtained only of God; secondly, nevertheless, that it was good to pray to them to pray with and for us; and thirdly, that all the days appointed by the church for the memories of the saints were to be kept, but yet that the king might at any time lessen the number of the said days, and must be obeyed if he did so. Another article sanctioned as good and laudable, and as having mystical significations in them, as well as being useful to lift up the mind to God, all the old customary ceremonies of religious worship—the vestments of the priest, the sprinkling of holy water, the distribution of holy bread, the bearing of candles on Candlemas-day, the giving of ashes on Ash Wednesday, the bearing of palms on Palm Sunday, the creeping to the Cross on Good Friday, the hallowing the font, and other exorcisms and benedictions. The last of the articles related to the much controverted questions of purgatory and prayers for the dead; and here, on the whole, the Protestant notions must be considered to have prevailed, although there was still something of the usual balancing and compounding together of adverse if not absolutely contradictory views and statements.

This mongrel religion, neither Romanism nor Protestantism, but an irregular patchwork or uncemented jumble of both, could not be expected, after it was manufactured and produced, to be perfectly acceptable to any part of the nation.* As soon as it was published, Bur-

* "It is yet but a mingle-mangle, a hotch-potch," said Latimer of the Reformation, in one of his sermons; "I cannot tell what; partly popery, and partly true religion mingled together. They say in my country, when they call

net tells us, it "occasioned a great variety of censures;" —that is, of expressions of opinion respecting it. On the whole, however, it was generally regarded as a decided advance in a Protestant direction.

The publication of the articles was immediately followed by a royal proclamation, abolishing, in conformity with the authority given by one of them, a considerable number of holidays, including most of those in the harvest season,—a measure of policy which, however calculated to be ultimately beneficial, was, perhaps, not very wise in the temper of the popular mind at the moment, and is admitted to have had as great an effect as any of the sudden innovations that were now made in provoking the Pilgrimage of Grace and the other serious insurrectionary movements that took place in the close of this year. A set of injunctions to the clergy was also issued by Cromwell as vicegerent in the king's name, "which," says Burnet, "was the first act of pure supremacy done by the king; for in all that went before he had the concurrence of the two convocations." The injunctions, which are supposed to have been penned by Cranmer, after exhorting the clergy to see, as far as in them lay, to the observance of the new articles, and of the laws and statutes made for the extirpation of the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, directed that all children and servants should be taught from their infancy to repeat and understand their Paternoster, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in their mother tongue.

In the following year, 1537, the war of reformation began to be carried on by Cromwell and his associates after a new fashion, by the destruction of images, relics, and shrines, which had long been the objects of popular veneration,—a measure which was rather facilitated than originally provoked by the discoveries that were made in the course of the visitation of the monasteries now commenced. One of the orders given to the visitors was to make a minute examination of all the relics and images

their hogs to the swine-trough, 'Come to thy mingle-mangle, —come, pur, come!' Even so do they make a mingle-mangle of the gospel."

in any of these houses to which pilgrimages were wont to be made. "In this," says Burnet, "Dr. London did great service. From Reading he writes that the chief relics of idolatry in the nation were there:—an angel with one wing, that brought over the spear's head that pierced our Saviour's side. To which he adds a long inventory of their other relics, and says there were as many more as would fill four sheets of paper. He also writes from other places that he had everywhere taken down their images and trinkets." Some of the images were brought to London, and, for the purpose of exposing the juggling impostures of the monks, were broken up at St. Paul's Cross in the sight of all the people. The rich shrines of our Lady of Walsingham, of Ipswich, of Islington, and many others, were now brought to London, and burned by order of Cromwell.

The abolition of images and pilgrimages occupied a principal place in a new set of instructions which Cromwell issued to the clergy in 1538.

At this point, however, the state of matters "began to turn." The sequel of Henry's course, in regard to doctrinal changes, was, with the exception perhaps of some momentary starts of caprice or passion, rather a going back than a going forward. Although he had thrown off the authority of the Roman pontiff, indeed, he had no notion that the English church should be left without a pope; his objection was not to the thing, but to the person; and his main object in displacing the Bishop of Rome evidently was, that, in so far at least as the religion of his own subjects was concerned, he might mount the same seat of absolute authority himself. The ancient head of the Roman church never put forward greater pretensions to infallibility than were, if not distinctly advanced in words, yet constantly acted upon by the new head of the English church in his narro empire of spiritual despotism. The Catholics, see they could do no better in the state to which matters been brought, were now contented even to affect a sa faction with the changes that had been already made the hope of thereby preventing further innovati

After the trial and condemnation of Lambert, the Sacramentary, in November, 1538, in which Henry took personally so conspicuous a part, "the party that opposed the Reformation," says Burnet, "persuaded the king that he had got so much reputation to himself by it, that it would effectually refute all aspersions which had been cast on him as if he intended to change the faith: neither did they forget to set on him in his weak side, and magnify all that he had said, as if the oracle had uttered it, by which they said it appeared he was indeed a defender of the faith, and the supreme head of the church."

In this spirit he now issued a long proclamation, prohibiting generally the importing of all English books printed abroad, and also the printing of any books at home without licence, any part of the Scripture not excepted, till it had been examined and approved by the king and his council, or by the bishop of the diocese; condemning all the books of the Anabaptists and Sacramentaries, or deniers of the corporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and denouncing punishment against all who should sell or otherwise publish them; forbidding all persons to argue against the doctrine of the real presence under pain of death and the loss of their goods; declaring that all should be punished who eschewed or neglected any rites or ceremonies not yet abolished; and ordering that all married priests should immediately be deprived, and those that should afterwards marry imprisoned or otherwise further punished at the king's pleasure. Cranmer's interest at court was now, from various causes, greatly diminished. His chief friend and ablest supporter on the episcopal bench, Fox, bishop of Hereford, had died in May of this year; and "for the other bishops that adhered to Cranmer," says Burnet, "they were rather clogs than helps to him." The only ally Cranmer had at court upon whom he could place any reliance was Cromwell, and he had enough to do to take care of himself; for, as the right reverend historian remarks, "there was not a queen now in the king's bosom to favour their motions." Cromwell conceived the scheme of recovering his interest by bringing over Anne of Cleves.

How disastrous this project proved in the issue to its contriver has been already related. But even before Henry's new marriage Cromwell's influence had been greatly weakened by the growing ascendancy of the able and crafty Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who at this moment professed himself precisely as much a reformer and as much a follower of the old faith as his royal master, and in that way was easily enabled to guide Henry's course more and more back towards the latter, without suffering him to feel that he was either driven or drawn.

In 1539 was passed by the parliament the famous act for abolishing diversity in opinions (31 Henry VIII. c. 14), popularly called the Statute of the Six Articles, or the Bloody Statute, confirming the resolutions which had already been carried in the convocation in favour of transubstantiation, against communion in both kinds, against the marriage of priests, and in favour of vows of chastity, of private masses and of auricular confession. The prime instigator of this new law was undoubtedly the Bishop of Winchester, now the king's chief counsellor.

The six articles of the Bloody Statute remained the established rule of faith of the English church, upon the several points to which they related, for the rest of Henry's reign. At this point, therefore, the history of the changes in the national religion made by Henry comes to a close, in so far as it forms a continuous narrative; but there are still a few scattered incidents in the history of the church, and of the regulation of doctrine and worship during the last years of his reign, that require a short notice.

Some injunctions issued by Bonner to his clergy of the diocese of London, in 1542,—which Burnet thinks "have a strain in them so far different from the rest of his life, that it is more probable they were drawn by another pen, and imposed on Bonner by an order of the king,"—contain a few things worthy of notice. Among the duties imposed upon all parsons, vicars, curates, and other parish priests, one is, that they read over and diligently study, every day, one chapter of the Bible, with

the ordinary gloss, or that of some other approved doctor or expositor; another is, that they shall instruct, teach, and bring up in learning, in the best way that they can, all such children of their parishioners as shall come to them for that purpose,—at least teaching them to read English,—for which they were to be moderately paid by such as could afford it. Some of the paragraphs that follow are illustrative of the manners of the time. It is spoken of as "a detestable and abominable practice, universally reigning," that young people and others were accustomed on Sundays and holidays, during the time of divine service, to resort to alehouses, and there exercise unlawful games, with great swearing, blasphemy, drunkenness and other enormities. It was even thought necessary to warn the clergy themselves that they should not in future use any unlawful games, or resort frequently to alehouses, taverns, or other places of evil repute, or haunted by light company; and they were also forbidden to array themselves in unseemly and unpriestly habits or apparel, or to have unlawful tonsures, or to carry armour and weapons about with them. Another injunction forbids any manner of common plays, games or interludes to be played, set forth or declared, within churches or chapels. This was a singular practice, which, in the shape and spirit at least in which it now prevailed, had come in with the Reformation. The old miracle-plays, indeed, seem to have originated with the clergy, and were frequently exhibited in the monasteries, and perhaps also in the churches; but these were, in the main, serious and solemn performances, and were designed to excite the reverential and devotional feelings of the spectators, which were not at all disturbed even by the rude jocularity or buffoonery a good deal of which was usually mixed up with the representation. But the plays and interludes now acted in churches were expressly intended to turn things that had heretofore been held sacred into ridicule. Burnet tells us that, although the clergy complained of them as an introduction to atheism and all sorts of impiety, and the more grave and learned reformers disliked and condemned them as unsuitable to the genius

of true religion, yet "the political men of that party made great use of them, encouraging them all they could; for, they said, contempt being the most operative and lasting affection of the mind, nothing would more effectually drive out many of those abuses which yet remained, than to expose them to the contempt and scorn of the people."

These indecent exhibitions at length attracted the attention of the government, and in 1543 an act of parliament (stat. 34 and 35, c. 1, entitled, 'An Act for the advancement of True Religion, and for the abolishment of the contrary') was passed for putting them down, along with divers other abuses, or conceived abuses, which had sprung up in the fertile hotbed of the licentious time. For reformation of these evils the act proceeds to prohibit "all manner of books of the Old and New Testament in English, being of the crafty, false, and untrue translation of Tyndal, and all other books and writings in the English tongue teaching or comprising any matters of Christian religion, articles of the faith, or Holy Scripture, or any part of them," contrary to the doctrine set forth by the king since the year 1540. Another proviso is amusing: free liberty to use any part of the Bible or Holy Scripture as they have been wont, so always it be not contrary to the doctrine of 1540, is continued to the chancellor of England, to *captains of the wars*, justices of peace, and others, "which heretofore have been accustomed to declare or teach any good, virtuous, or godly exhortations in any assemblies." But the most important part of this law was the new regulations with regard to the reading of the Scriptures. Not only was it forbidden to any person not having the licence of the king or the ordinary to read the English Bible aloud in any church or open assembly, under the penalty of a month's imprisonment, but great restrictions were laid even upon the private reading of it. Any nobleman or gentleman being a householder, was still permitted "to read, or cause to be read by any of his family or servants, in his house, orchard, or garden, and to his own family, any text of the Bible or New Testament, so the same be done

quietly and without disturbance of good order;" and any merchant, "being a householder, and occupying the seat of merchandise," might read to himself privately in the sacred volume. But that privilege was withdrawn from all women, artificers, apprentices, journeymen, servingmen of the degree of yeomen or under, husbandmen, and labourers; and noblewomen and gentlewomen were only allowed to read to themselves alone, and not to others.

In 1537 had come out, under the title of 'The Godly and Pious Institution of a Christian Man,' the first edition of an explanation of all the leading doctrines of the church, compiled by a body of bishops and other divines commissioned for that purpose by the king, whence it popularly received the name of the Bishops' Book. A second edition of this work, revised and put into a new form under the direction of another commission, appeared in 1540, the title now given to it being 'The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man.' In this authoritative compendium there was certainly, on the whole, much less of Protestantism than of the ancient faith. A third edition of the book, with many alterations and additions by another commission, came out in 1543, introduced by a prefatory epistle from Henry himself, whence it now came to be called 'The King's Book.' The most remarkable passage in this epistle related to the reading of the Scriptures, which it was admitted was necessary for those whose office it was to teach others; "but for the other part of the church," continues the king, "ordained to be taught, it ought to be deemed certainly that the reading of the Old and New Testament is not so necessary for all those folks, that of duty they ought and be bound to read it, but as the prince and the policy of the realm shall think convenient so to be tolerated or taken from it."

It is difficult to understand what Burnet means by describing the act of 1543 as one that freed the people from the fears in which they were before on the subject of religion, inasmuch as it delivered the laity from the hazard of burning. By one of the clauses of this new act, which, throughout, is one of restriction and abridg-

ment of former liberties, it is expressly declared that the bloody statute of the Six Articles shall still continue in the same force, strength, and effect as ever. Within a few months after the passing of this new law, three persons attached to the doctrines of the Reformation, Anthony Person, a priest, Robert Testwood, musician, and Henry Filmer, one of the churchwardens of Windsor, were burnt together in that town under the statute of the Six Articles. On the information of Dr. London, Cromwell's zealous visitor of the monasteries and nunneries, whose accommodating observance of the changes at court had now been rewarded by Cromwell's successor with a prebendal stall in St. George's Chapel, Gardiner had obtained from the king a warrant to make search in the houses of these unfortunate persons for forbidden books, some of which were found in their possession. They were brought to trial at Windsor on the 27th of July, 1544, along with a fourth, John Marbeck, another musician, who had, it appears, made considerable progress in the compilation of a Concordance of the English Bible, and were all condemned. Marbeck received a pardon, and was set at liberty; but the others, as we have mentioned, all suffered.

The only other innovation of any importance that was made in the church service in this reign was the translation of the prayers for the processions and of the litanies into the English tongue. An order for the use of these English prayers was sent to Archbishop Cranmer by Henry in June, 1544, immediately before Henry crossed the seas on his last expedition to Boulogne. This gave some hope to the Protestants that the king, as Burnet expresses it, "was again opening his ears to notions for reformation, to which they had been shut now about six years;" but they were immediately shut again as hard as ever. The year 1546 witnessed the consignment, first to the rack, and afterwards to the stake, of Anne Askew, and numbers of other victims in London and elsewhere, for the denial of the real presence.

In fact, at the close of this reign, the church of England, although it had cast off the Roman supremacy, was

still, according to its public formularies and the law of the land, as one with the church of Rome in all the fundamental points of doctrine and belief. The two great measures, indeed, of the rejection of the pope and the confiscation of the monasteries, which appear to have been the only reforms that Henry ever really went cordially into, had naturally drawn after them some degree of scepticism or coldness of faith touching purgatory and prayers for the dead, and touching the worship of images and the intercession of the saints; but even as to these points there was no distinct abandonment of the ancient faith. The seven sacraments of the Roman church, the corporal presence in the Eucharist, the denial of the cup to the laity, auricular confession, the celibacy of the priesthood, and almost the whole ceremonial of the mass, and the other ancient forms, were retained in the belief and practice of the English church as long as Henry lived.

At the date of the accession of Edward VI. (January 1547) there can be no doubt that the numerical preponderance of the population of the kingdom was still in the proportion of many to one on the side of the ancient religion. The avowed reformers did not as yet form the bulk of the inhabitants of any place, either among the towns or in the country. It is not to be supposed that even in any of the great towns the majority of the people had yet embraced the new doctrines; but these doctrines had both a much greater number of decided adherents in the towns than in the rural districts, and had also in the former much less of attachment to the old religion to overcome in the masses who had not yet gone over to them. Most of what was very fierce and determined in the hostility they had still to encounter was to be found among the villagers and peasantry. Among the upper classes the proportion of persons who, swayed either by religious or political considerations, were thoroughly in the interests of the Reformation, was perhaps scarcely greater than among the lower and middle classes; but here, too, there was enlisted on that side all that was most energetic and aspiring in the body of the nobility

and gentry, many of whom had already profited largely by the spoliation of the church, while many more looked for similar advantages from the same source.

The first year of the reign of Edward VI. saw the fabric of the ancient system completely undermined, and the foundations laid of a church Protestant in its doctrines and forms of worship. The parliament which met in the beginning of November, 1547, repealed the statute of the Six Articles, and also all the old acts against what was called heresy, and moreover began the work of reconstruction as well as of demolition, by directing, that henceforth, the sacrament should be administered to the people in both kinds.

Of the other proceedings that were taken this year in the same direction, the most important was the preparation by Cranmer, or at least under his direction, of certain homilies or sermons to be read to their congregations by such incumbents of parishes as might not be qualified to compose discourses of their own. To the general imitation of these printed discourses by the clergy, Bishop Burnet attributes the introduction of the practice of preachers reading their sermons, the custom formerly having been for them to deliver unwritten or extemporaneous declamations. The homilies now prepared by Cranmer were twelve in number, and, when printed, were introduced by a preface in the name of the king, enjoining them to be read in all churches every Sunday by such priests as could not preach. According to Strype, two editions of the book were printed by Grafton this same year. "But it is strange," observes this writer, "to consider how anything, be it never so beneficial and innocent, oftentimes gives offence. For a great many, both of the laity as well as the clergy, could not digest these homilies; and therefore, sometimes, when they were read in the church, if the parishioners liked them not, there would be such talking and babbling in the church that nothing could be heard."

As yet, however, very little alteration had been made in the forms of public worship. The injunctions issued by Cranmer and the Protector to the visitors whom they

sent out over the kingdom, soon after the commencement of the new reign, were extremely moderate and cautious. Almost the only innovation that was ordered in divine service was, that, at high mass, the epistle and gospel should be read in English; and that every Sunday and holiday the priest should read at matins one chapter out of the New Testament in English, and at even-song another out of the New. It was ordered that the people should be taught to beware of the superstitions of sprinkling their beds with holy water, of ringing of bells, and of using blessed candles for driving away devils; but at the same time not to despise any of the ceremonies not yet abrogated. On the subject of images it was directed that the curates should take down such as they knew were abused by pilgrimages or offerings to them, but that they should not be touched by private persons. An expectation, however, that much greater changes were at hand universally prevailed in the public mind. In some cases the people, impatient of the apparent inaction of the government, took the work of reform into their own hands. The department in which they proceeded to exert themselves was, as usual, that of throwing down images, shrines, and other decorations,—a species of exploit which other feelings as well as a pious zeal help to make popular. Gardiner complained of these outrages in warm terms to the council, but little attention was paid to him. Meanwhile the subject of images, and also several of the other great controverted questions, were taken up in their public discourses by the preachers on both sides. Dr. Ridley, already designed for the bishopric of Rochester, seems to have begun this course, throwing the whole kingdom into a ferment by a Lent sermon which he preached against both images and holy water. The late order, too, for the removal of such images as had been abused to superstitious purposes produced a world of contention. At last another order was issued in February, 1548, for the removal of all images; and this seems to have put an end to the excitement, which, in some places, had assumed a very threatening appearance.

A few weeks after was published a new office for the Communion, which had been drawn up by a committee of bishops and other divines appointed to revise all the offices of the church. In this, however, the office of the mass was still left as before. The cup, of course, in conformity with the late act, was directed to be given to the laity as well as to the clergy. An important innovation was made also in regard to confession: it was enjoined that such as desired to make auricular confession should not censure those who were satisfied with a general confession to God; and that, on the other hand, those who used only confession to God and the church should not be offended with such as made auricular confession to a priest.

Before Midsummer the same commission had completed the preparation of a new general Public Office, or Book of Common Prayer, in the room of the ancient Latin Mass Book. In proceeding to this task they began by collecting and examining all the various forms of the Mass Book that had been wont to be used in different parts of the kingdom. The new book contained very little that was not in the old one; but was principally distinguished from it by its omission of many forms that were held to be superstitious, and by its being throughout in English. The chief addition was the Litany, which was the same that is still in use, except only that it contained originally a petition for deliverance from the Bishop of Rome, which was struck out in the reign of Elizabeth.

In the session of parliament which began in November this year, the new "Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England," was ordered to be used by all ministers in the celebration of divine service. In this session of parliament, also, acts were passed reviving the old law on the subject of days of abstinence from flesh, and repealing all laws against the marriage of priests.

The complete exposition and settlement, by authority, of the doctrines of the church, however, still remained

to be effected. "Many," says Burnet, "thought they should have begun first of all with those. But Cranmer, upon good reasons, was of another mind, though much pressed by Bucer about it. Till the order of bishops was brought to such a model that the far greater part of them would agree to it, it was much fitter to let that design go on slowly than to set out a profession of their belief to which so great a part of the chief pastors might be obstinately averse." But at length Gardiner, Bonner, Heath, and Day, having all been got rid of, and Ridley, Coverdale, Hooper, and other zealous friends of the Reformation promoted to the episcopal bench, the preparation of articles of religion was proceeded with in 1551, and finished by the beginning of the next year, when they were published by the king's authority. These original articles were forty-two in number, and did not differ as to any material point of doctrine from the present Thirty-nine Articles.

Another great work which employed the labours of Cranmer and his associates in the course of this reign was the reform of the ecclesiastical or canon law.

Although it never obtained any legal authority, the system of ecclesiastical law drawn up by Cranmer and his friends possesses much interest, from the light it throws upon the opinions entertained as to various points of great importance by the fathers of the English Reformation. We shall, therefore, state its most remarkable provisions. It began by declaring that the denial of the Christian religion should be punishable with death and the loss of goods. No capital punishment was expressly denounced against heresy; but obstinate heretics were to be declared infamous, incapable of public trust, of being witnesses in any court, of making a will, or, finally, of deriving any benefit whatever from the law—a condemnation which would seem to be very nearly equivalent to putting them to death at once. Blasphemy was made punishable in the same way with obstinate heresy.

The reign of Edward VI., in the course of which the Protestant doctrines and worship were thus gradually, but, in the end, completely established, must have very

considerably slackened the hold of the ancient religion upon the popular mind. But we believe, after all, that it was the reign of Mary much more than that of Edward, which really made England a Protestant country. Mary's cause was at first supported against her unfortunate Protestant rival by the bulk of the population in all parts of the kingdom; and, although it is certain that many of those who so took her part were actuated by other principles and motives than their attachment to Popery, it is hardly to be believed that so general an enthusiasm in her favour would have been shown by a community the majority of which were Protestants. At the accession of Elizabeth, on the contrary, we behold a really national manifestation of Protestantism—the people of all classes eagerly crowding to carry her in triumph to the throne, and hailing her not only as their queen, but as their deliverer. The horrors of the preceding popish reign had done more to spread through the land a horror of popery than probably the most strenuous exertions on the part of an established Protestant clergy could have done in twice the same space of time. No teaching, no preaching could have told like that of the martyrs from the midst of the flames.

The first year of Mary's reign saw everything that had been set up in the matter of the national religion by her brother thrown down, and all that he had thrown down again set up. The parliament which met in the beginning of October, 1553, swept away, by a single statute of repeal (1 Mary, s. 2, c. 2), all the acts of the last reign respecting the administration of the sacrament to the people in both kinds, the election of bishops, the uniformity of public worship, the marriage of priests, the abolition of missals and removal of images, the keeping of holidays and fast-days, &c.; and directed that divine service should again be performed as it used to be in the last year of Henry VIII. Within the same space, Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstall, Day, and Heath, were all restored to their bishoprics; Ridley and Cranmer were sent to the Tower; the other Protestant bishops were expelled from the House of Lords; and, soon after, all of them

were deprived of their sees. At this point the directors of the retrograde movement halted for a few months. But before the end of the year 1554, acts had been passed by the parliament reviving all the old acts against heresy (1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c. 6), and repealing all statutes, articles, and provisions made against the see apostolic of Rome since the 20th year of King Henry VIII., and also for the re-establishment of all spiritual and ecclesiastical possessions and hereditaments conveyed to the laity (1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8). Thus, as in the preceding year things had been restored to the state in which they stood before the final establishment of Protestantism under Edward, they were now brought back to that in which they stood prior to the partial changes made by Henry.

It was after the work of demolition and re-erection had been thus completed, that the fires were kindled at Smithfield and elsewhere, which were never suffered to go out, or left unfed by living fuel, during the remainder of the reign. Many besides died in prison. Lord Burghley, in his tract entitled 'The Execution of Justice in England,' reckons the entire number that died by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, to have been near four hundred. If the unanimous testimony of the Protestant historians of the persecution is to be believed, the victims in many cases tasted the rack and other tortures before they were brought to the stake.

Many English Protestants, also, in the early part of this reign, foreseeing the storm that was coming on, had fled abroad, taking refuge chiefly in Frankfort, Strasburg, Basil, Zurich, and Geneva. Among these were Sir Francis Knollys, afterwards Queen Elizabeth's vice-chamberlain; Grindal, afterwards successively bishop of London, archbishop of York, and archbishop of Canterbury; Sandys, who succeeded Grindal in the archbishopric of York; Bale, late bishop of Ossory, well known for his numerous writings theological, biographical, and dramatic; Pilkington, afterwards bishop of Durham; Bentham, afterwards bishop of Lichfield; Scory, late bishop of Chichester, and afterwards bishop of Hereford;

Jewel, afterwards bishop of Salisbury; Coverdale, the famous translator of the Bible, late bishop of Exeter; Knox, the great Scottish Reformer; Fox, the martyrologist; and many other learned persons. In all there are computed to have been above eight hundred of these refugees. They established English Protestant churches in most of the places where they took up their abode—the two most considerable congregations being at Frankfort and Geneva.

When Elizabeth came to the throne she found the Protestantism of those of her subjects who were Protestants a good deal stronger than her own. All the peculiarities of Elizabeth's Protestantism leant towards the Popish notions; and it is very evident that if she had been left to make a religion of her own for the country, it would have been something about midway between the Protestant and the Roman systems. Indeed, it was not her fault that she was not reconciled to the court of Rome, to which, on her accession, she despatched an envoy to intimate that event in the same manner as she did to all the other courts of Europe. It was the pope that threw her off, not she that threw off the pope. But although circumstances prevented Elizabeth from making the reformed church which she established in England exactly what her own views and inclinations would have demanded, her personal tastes had still a very considerable influence in determining the form and character which it actually assumed.

The first step which Elizabeth took in the matter of religion was designed to restrain the impetuosity of her more ardent Protestant subjects. When, immediately after her accession, the people in many places began to set up King Edward's service, to pull down images, and to insult the priests, she issued an order that certain parts of the service should be read in English, and that the elevation of the host should be discontinued; but at the same time she strictly prohibited all further innovations for the present. She also ordered that all preaching should be suspended. In summoning her first parliament she did not even assume the title of supreme head of the

church. The eminent Protestant divine, Dr. Matthew Parker, however, had been already selected to fill the metropolitan see, and everything had been arranged in the council for the restoration of the Reformed church. The parliament, accordingly, which met in the end of January, 1559, before it separated in the beginning of May, revived all Henry VIII.'s acts which had been repealed in the last reign against the jurisdiction and exactions of the Bishop of Rome, and also the statute of Edward VI., by which the communion was administered to the laity in both kinds; repealed the old acts against heresy which had been revived by Mary; appointed an oath acknowledging the supremacy of the crown over the church, to be taken by all spiritual persons on pain of deprivation (by stat. 1 Eliz. c. 1); re-established the use of King Edward's Book of Common Prayer, with certain slight alterations, chiefly in the communion service (by stat. 1 Eliz. c. 2); and restored the first fruits and tenths of benefices to the crown (by stat. 1 Eliz. c. 4). A bill was also brought in, among some others that did not pass, for restoring to their benefices all clergymen that had been deprived in the last reign for being married; but it was dropped on the queen's order. Elizabeth, however, though no admirer of married priests, did not carry her scruples or dislike so far as seriously to attempt the project of setting up an unmarried clergy; she took no notice of the laws made by her sister in favour of clerical celibacy.

The effect of these new statutes was once more completely to revolutionize the national religion—to transform England from a Catholic into a Protestant country. A few weeks after the parliament rose the oath of supremacy was tendered to the bishops; when Heath archbishop of York, Bonner bishop of London, Thirleby of Ely, Bourn of Bath and Wells, Bain of Lichfield, White of Winchester, Watson of Lincoln, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, Turberville of Exeter, Pool of Peterborough, Scott of Chester, Pates of Worcester, Goldwell of St. Asaph, Tunstall of Durham, and three bishops elect, all refused it; in fact, Kitchin of Landaff, the Vicar of

Bray of the episcopal bench,* was the only one who consented to take it. With that single exception, therefore, all the sees became at once vacant; but although the deprived prelates were also at first sent to prison in conformity with one of the provisions of the statute, only Bonner, White, and Watson were detained in confinement. Most of the rest spent the remainder of their days unmolested in England: Heath lived in his own house at Surrey, where he was sometimes visited by the queen; Tunstall and Thirleby resided with Archbishop Parker at Lambeth.† Only Pates, Scott, and Goldwell left the country. Most of the monks, Burnet says, returned to a secular course of life, but the nuns went abroad. A few of the Catholic nobility and gentry also retired beyond seas. On the other hand, the exiles who had gone abroad in Mary's time returned in great numbers, many of them to be nominated to the highest offices in the church.

Meanwhile preparations were made for a general visitation of the national clergy. With this view certain injunctions were drawn up, but not without the queen proving almost impracticable as to one of them,—that which directed the removal of images. However, she yielded at last to the remonstrances, if not to the reasonings, of the bishops and other divines; and the injunctions were issued in nearly the same terms with those put forth by King Edward at his first coming to the crown, except that some things were added, of which the following were the most remarkable. Although marriage was not forbidden to the clergy, it was declared that great offence had been given by the indecent marriages that some of them had made in King Edward's days; and, therefore, no priest or deacon was to be allowed to marry without permission from the bishop of the diocese and two justices of the peace, as well as the consent of the woman's parents or nearest of kin. No

* See ante, vol. viii. p. 48.

† Tunstall, alike eminent for his learning and his virtue, survived this his second deprivation only a few months, dying the next year at the age of eighty-five.

book was to be printed or published without a licence from the queen, or from six of her privy council, or from her ecclesiastical commissioners, or from the two archbishops, the Bishop of London, the chancellors of the two universities, and the bishop and archdeacon of the place where it was printed.

According to the report made by the visitors to the queen after they had finished their labours, it appeared that, of nine thousand four hundred beneficed persons in England, all who chose to resign their benefices rather than comply with the new order of things at this crisis were, besides the fourteen bishops and three bishops elect already mentioned, only six abbots, twelve deans, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, fifty prebendaries, and eighty rectors.* So that, after this great change from Popery to Protestantism, the parochial clergy generally remained the same as before, almost the entire body having stepped over from the one creed and worship to the other as quietly as if principle and conscience had had nothing to do with the matter.

The re-establishment of the Reformed church under Elizabeth may be considered to have been completed in 1562 by the publication of the Articles of Religion as revised by the bishops, and adopted by the convocation. Besides the reduction of the number from forty-two to thirty-nine, the chief alteration that was made upon the original articles published in the time of King Edward was in that on the Lord's Supper, in which the express denial of the corporal presence was now left out, and it was merely said that "the body of Christ was given and received after a spiritual manner, and the means by which it is received is faith." It was hoped, according to Burnet, by this reserve to retain in communion with the church some whom a distinct denial of the real presence would have scared away. A further revision of the articles took place in 1571, when, however, no alterations of any moment were made, but the articles were for the

* This is Burnet's enumeration. The numbers vary somewhat in Camden and other authorities.

first time subscribed and set forth by the convocation in English as well as in Latin. It was now, also, that subscription to them was for the first time made imperative upon the clergy (by stat. 13 Eliz. c. 12).

We may here also notice the new translation of the Bible which appeared in this reign. Since Cranmer's or the Great Bible, Coverdale, assisted by others of his countrymen settled at Geneva, had occupied himself during his exile in the time of Mary with the preparation of a new English version of the whole Scriptures, which was at length printed for the first time at Geneva in 1560. This continued to be the favourite Bible of the English Puritans, and also of the Presbyterians in Scotland, till the appearance of the present authorised translation in the reign of James I. Of course it was many times reprinted.*

The church thus set up in England occupied a position that exposed it to hostility at the same time from two opposite quarters—on the one hand from those who desired a further reformation, on the other from those who wanted no reformation at all. But the quarrel of both these classes of dissenters or nonconformists with the church, it is to be remembered, was equally a quarrel with the state or the government, of which the church was merely the creature and instrument. As for the case of the Roman Catholics, ample details have been given in the preceding chapter of the commencement and course of the succession of measures taken against them, from the simple prohibition of their worship in the beginning of the reign, through the disabilities and severities of subsequent times, increasing with the exasperation of both parties, till popery came to be in a manner confounded with treason, so that most of the persons put to death for the one might almost in another view be said to be put to death for the other. We shall here merely enumerate together, and in their chronological order, the principal of the series of legislative

* The Geneva Bible is the same that is known by the name of the Breeches Bible, from its rendering of Genesis iii. 7.

enactments to which the followers of the ancient religion were subjected in the course of this reign.

First came the two acts of 1559; the one (1 Eliz. c. 1) entitled 'An Act restoring to the Crown the Ancient Jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical and Spiritual, and abolishing all Foreign Power repugnant to the same;' the other (1 Eliz. c. 2) entitled 'An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Divine Service in the Church, and the Administration of the Sacraments.' By the former the oath of supremacy was directed to be taken by all persons holding any office, spiritual or temporal, on pain of deprivation, and also by all persons taking degrees in the universities, and by all persons sueing livery or doing homage; writing or preaching against the supremacy was made punishable for the first offence with forfeiture of goods and one year's imprisonment, for the second with the pains of premunire, for the third as high treason; and those powers of exercising its ecclesiastical jurisdiction, through commissioners appointed for that purpose, were conferred upon the crown, which were afterwards turned into an engine of such comprehensive despotism by means of the famous Courts of High Commission. By the latter, all clergymen refusing to use King Edward's Book of Common Prayer were ordered to be punished for the first offence with forfeiture of one year's profit of their benefices and six months' imprisonment, for the second with one year's imprisonment and deprivation, for the third with deprivation and imprisonment for life; all persons either speaking anything against the said service-book, or causing any other forms than those it prescribed to be used in any church, chapel, or other place, in the performance of prayer or the administration of the sacraments, were subjected to the penalty of one hundred marks for the first offence, of four hundred marks for the second, for the third to forfeiture of goods and imprisonment for life; and a fine of a shilling was inflicted upon every person absent from his parish church without cause on any Sunday or Holiday. Not only the deprivation of

recusant clergymen, but prosecutions and punishments of private individuals, began under this act as soon as it was passed.* In 1563, by an act (5 Eliz. c. 1) 'For the assurance of the queen's majesty's royal power over all estates and subject within her highness' dominions,' several of the above provisions were made still more extensive and stringent. The oath of supremacy was now required to be taken by all persons taking holy orders, by all schoolmasters, barristers, benchers, and attorneys, by all officers of any court of common law or other court whatever, and by all members of the House of Commons; and the refusing it, or upholding the jurisdiction of Rome, was made punishable with the pains of præmunire for the first offence, and for the second with those of high treason. In 1571, after the Earl of Northumberland's rebellion,† a new act upon the subject of treason (stat. 13 Eliz. c. 1) was principally directed against the adherents of popery. It was now made high treason to compass, imagine, invent, devise, or intend, the death or bodily harm of the queen, or the deposing her, or the levying war against her, or exciting foreigners to invade the realm, if such designs were uttered or declared by any printing, writing, or words, or to deny the queen's title, or to affirm her to be a heretic or usurper; any person during the queen's life claiming title to the crown, or usurping the royal title, or refusing to acknowledge the queen's right (this and the following clauses were especially levelled against the Queen of Scots and her adherents), was disabled from inheriting the crown; all claimants or pretenders to any right of succession to the crown, after the queen's proclamation had issued against them, were declared guilty of high treason; denying the power of the common law, or of this or any other act of parliament, to limit the descent of the crown, was made high treason during the queen's life, and afterwards punishable by forfeiture of goods; and the printing or publishing that any particular person not so declared by act of parlia-

* See ante, vol. viii p. 49. † See ante, vol. viii. p. 205.

ment, except her issue, was heir to the queen, was made punishable by a year's imprisonment for the first offence, and by a premunire for the second. By another statute of the same year (13 Eliz. c. 2), provoked by the pope's excommunication of Elizabeth, it was declared to be high treason to obtain or put in use any bull from Rome, or to receive absolution thereunder, and misprision of treason to conceal the offer of any such bull, and punishable with premunire to bring into the realm "any token or tokens, thing or things, called or named by the name of an *agnus dei*, or any crosses, pictures, beads, or such like vain and superstitious things from the bishop or see of Rome." A third act (13 Eliz. 2, c. 3) sought to prevent the retirement of the Catholics beyond seas, by enacting that any of the queen's subjects leaving the realm without her licence, and not returning within six months after proclamation, should forfeit all their goods and the profits of all their lands for life. But what are properly to be called the penal laws against popery, as being expressly and directly pointed against the dissemination and profession of that faith, commence with the year 1581. By an act passed in that year (23 Eliz. c. 1), entitled 'An Act to retain the Queen's Majesty's Subjects in their due obedience,' persons pretending to any power of absolving subjects from their obedience to the queen, or practising to withdraw them to the Romish religion, and all subjects so absolved or withdrawn, were declared guilty of high treason; their abettors or concealers were declared guilty of misprision of treason: the saying of mass was made punishable by a year's imprisonment and a fine of two hundred marks; the hearing of it by a fine of one hundred marks and the same term of imprisonment; and the fine for neglecting to attend church was raised to the monstrous amount of twenty pounds per month. This very year Campion, the Jesuit, and three other priests were executed: and from this date to the end of the reign there was scarcely a year in which several persons of the same profession were not sent to the gibbet. It is true, indeed, that they were not put to death as Catholics;

Campion and his companions were arraigned on the old Treason Act of the 25th of Edward III., and the others were in like manner all found guilty of some old or new treason; but as the mere teaching, and in certain circumstances even the simple profession, of the Roman Catholic faith was now converted into that capital crime, some of them at least may as correctly be said to have suffered as Catholics as they may be said to have suffered as traitors. A new act, passed in 1585, "against Jesuits, seminary priests, and such other like disobedient persons" (27 Eliz. c. 2), added some others to the list of these new popish capital offences, by declaring that all Jesuits and other Romish priests whatsoever, made or ordained out of England, coming into or remaining in the kingdom, and all English subjects educated in any foreign college of Jesuits or other seminary of Romish priests, not returning home on proclamation and taking the oath of supremacy, should be deemed traitors; and the receivers of Romish priests so coming from abroad, felons without benefit of clergy. Persons sending money to foreign Jesuits or priests were at the same time subjected to the pains of premunire; and all persons were prohibited from sending their children abroad, without licence from her majesty, under a penalty of one hundred pounds. In 1587, by an act intended to secure the more speedy and due execution of the act of 1581, all conveyances made by recusants, to avoid the penalties therein imposed, were declared void; and the fine of twenty pounds per month, incurred for non-attendance at church, was directed in future to be levied by distress upon the property of the offenders to the extent of all their goods and two-thirds of their lands. Finally, in 1593, by another act "against popish recusants" (35 Eliz. c. 2), all persons above sixteen years of age, being popish recusants convict, were ordered, within forty days, to repair to their usual place of dwelling, and forbidden for ever after, without written licence from the bishop of the diocese or deputy lieutenant of the county, to go five miles from thence on pain of forfeiture of their goods and the profits of their lands during life. This was the

last act passed against the Catholics in the reign of Elizabeth.

But the other description of nonconformists, opposite as were most of their principles and objects, gave, even in this early stage of their existence, nearly as much trouble as the Catholics. The origin of the Protestant Dissenters may be traced to the very dawn of the Reformation; for the principles of Wycliffe in this country, and of Huss and Jerome of Prague on the continent, were certainly much more nearly allied to what in a later age was styled Puritanism than to the doctrine of the established church. But the first appearance of Puritanism in England as an element at variance with the spirit of the establishment was in the reign of Edward VI. In some of their notions, indeed, even the original founders of the establishment, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and their associates, may be regarded as having been puritanically inclined in comparison with their successors, the restorers of the Reformed church in the reign of Elizabeth. Puritanism was first imported into England after the establishment of the Reformation by certain foreign divines, Peter Martyr, Bucer, John à Lasco, and others, who came over from Germany on the accession of Edward VI., and by one or two Englishmen, who had studied or travelled in that country. Of these last the celebrated Dr. John Hooper was the most distinguished; and the first disturbance occasioned in the newly founded church by the principles of Puritanism was when Hooper, in 1550, on being nominated to the bishopric of Gloucester, refused to submit to the appointed forms of consecration and admission. At this date, however, English Puritanism—which, indeed, was not even yet known by that name—was a mere mustard-seed in comparison of what it afterwards became. Accidentally, one of the most remarkable and enduring consequences of the restoration of popery in England in the reign of Mary, was the eventual introduction into the country of a new spirit of Puritanism. This was brought about through the large emigration of English Protestants to the continent at the commencement of Mary's

persecutions, and their return home on the accession of Elizabeth, fraught, many of them, with notions which they had acquired in the schools of Calvin, Zuinglius, and other foreign reformers, whose principles were on many points wholly adverse to those which prevailed in the reconstruction of the English church. Great contentions, in fact, had taken place among the exiles, while resident abroad, on the subject of the rites and ceremonies retained in King Edward's Book of Common Prayer; and at last, while the party in favour of these forms retained possession of the church at Frankfort, their opponents retired for the most part to Geneva, and there, under the eye of Calvin and the immediate pastoral care of his disciple Knox, set up a new service of their own, mostly borrowed from that of the French Protestants, in which there were no Litany, no responses, and hardly any rites or ceremonies; and a directory of which they published in English under the title of 'The Service, Discipline, and Form of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments used in the English Church of Geneva.' Even many of those who had been members of the church at Frankfort brought back with them inclinations in favour of a wider departure from the popish worship than Elizabeth would consent to in her Reformed church.

The church of England, it is always to be remembered, no more adopts or sanctions the principle of the private interpretation of Scripture than does the church of Rome. Differing from the church of Rome in holding the Scripture to be the sole rule of faith, it still insists that the Scripture shall be received, not as any individual may interpret it for himself, but as it is expounded in the articles and other formularies of the church. It may, indeed, be doubted if the Puritans themselves at this early period had arrived at what it has been common in later times to speak of as the great fundamental principle of Protestantism—the right of every individual to be his own interpreter of the word of God; for this, when carried out, would seem to lead directly to the conclusion that the church ought to be

unrestrained by any articles or formularies whatever. To this height, certainly, no class of Protestants had soared in the days of which we are speaking. The utmost that was demanded by the first dissenters from the church of England was, that certain points about which they felt scruples should be left as matters indifferent; these being, for the present, principally such mere matters of outward or ceremonial observance as the habits of the priesthood and the forms of public worship. In one sense these things were left by the church as indifferent: they were admitted to be indifferent as matters of faith,—that is to say, dissent in regard to them was not held to be heresy; but it was still held to be schism, and was made equally to exclude the individual maintaining and acting upon it from the fellowship of the church. In this respect the act of uniformity bore as hard upon the Puritans as it did upon the Papists. Nor was even the Act of Supremacy acceptable to the former any more than to the latter; for, in general, the Puritans now felt scruples as to the acknowledgment in any terms of the king or queen as the head of the church. These beginnings, too, soon led to further differences: in the words of a late writer, "the habits at first had been the only or chief matter of contention; all the rites of the church were soon attacked; and finally, its whole form and structure." * The avowed object of the nonconformists, indeed, soon came to be to substitute, for the established forms of worship and discipline, the Geneva system in all its parts; nor were there wanting some of them who would have made a Geneva republic of the state as well as of the church.

Throughout the present period, too, and for a long time after, it is important to remark, the Puritans equally with the church abominated and strenuously stood out against any toleration of those who differed from themselves in respect to what they considered essential points. They held that such persons ought not only to be excluded from communion with the brethren, but restrained

* Southey, Book of the Church.

and punished by the law of the land. If the English church, therefore, when restored in the reign of Elizabeth, had chanced to have been arranged upon Puritan principles, it is certain that the toleration of dissent would not have entered into either its principles or its practice more than it did as things were actually managed.

At first, however, many of the Puritans so far overcame their scruples as to comply with the required forms and accept of livings in the establishment. The writer of their history maintains that, if they had not done this, in hopes of the removal of their grievances in more settled times, the Reformation would have fallen back into the hands of the Papists; "for it was impossible," he observes, "with all the assistance they could get from both universities, to fill up the parochial vacancies with men of learning and character."*

For some years the Puritans who had joined the church were winked at by the authorities in many deviations from the appointed forms which they introduced into the public service. Archbishop Parker has the chief credit of having instigated the proceedings that were taken to enforce in all the clergy a rigid compliance with the rubric. He and some of his episcopal brethren, having been constituted ecclesiastical commissioners for that purpose by the queen, summoned the clergy of the several dioceses before them, and suspended all who refused to subscribe an agreement to submit to the queen's injunctions in regard to the habits, rites, and ceremonies. Great numbers of ministers, including many of those most eminent for their zeal and piety and their popularity as preachers, were thus ejected from both the service and the profits of their cures, and sent forth into the world in a state of entire destitution. The course pursued towards them was in some respects of the harshest and most oppressive character. It was in these circumstances that, feeling all chance of reconciliation at an end, the ejected clergymen resolved to separate them-

* Neal, Hist. of the Puritans.

selves from the establishment, breaking off from the public churches, and assembling, as they had opportunity, in private houses or elsewhere, to worship God in a manner that might not offend against the light of their consciences. This separation took place in 1566.

The preachings of the deprived ministers in the woods and private houses gave rise to the new offence of what was called frequenting conventicles, the putting down of which now afforded abundant employment to the queen and her ecclesiastical commissioners. The Puritans were brought in great numbers before the Commissioners, and fined, imprisoned, and otherwise punished, both under the authority of the act of parliament enforcing attendance upon the parish churches, and by the more ample powers of the act of supremacy, to which scarcely any bounds were set. Meanwhile the controversy with the church began to spread over a wider field, chiefly through the preaching of the celebrated Thomas Cartwright, fellow of Trinity College, and Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, at Cambridge, a most learned, eloquent, and courageous nonconformist. The University of Cambridge was a great stronghold of Puritanism, and here Cartwright was for some time protected and permitted to disseminate his opinions while most of his brethren were silenced; but he, too, was at last reached by the ecclesiastical commissioners; and, on the interference of Cecil, the chancellor, was, in 1570, deprived of his professorship. He was afterwards also deprived of his fellowship, and expelled from the University. The temper, however, of a formidable minority in the new parliament which met in 1571 showed that the principles of Puritanism, though expelled from the church, and almost driven from the face of day, were still making progress in the nation. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the government, the nonconformists found means to maintain the defence of their opinions through the press; numerous books and pamphlets were published by them, printed it could not be discovered by whom or where; nor was it possible to prevent them from being bought and read.

Archbishop Parker died in 1575; and if his successor Grindal had been allowed to follow his own inclinations, or had been left in the real government of the church over which he nominally presided, the Puritans would have had a breathing-time from their sufferings during the ten years of his occupation of the metropolitan dignity. But the circumstances in which he was himself placed, and the activity of some of his brethren of another spirit and temper—especially of Sandys, bishop of London, who, from a violent professor, had become a still more violent persecutor, of Puritanic principles—prevented Grindal from being able to do anything to change the course of rigour and severity that had been begun under his predecessor. When in the second year of his primacy he ventured to write to the queen, recommending milder measures, her majesty answered his letter by an order from the Star Chamber, confining him to his house, and suspending him from his archiepiscopal functions altogether; and so suspended he remained till within about a year of his death. It was by this sort of boldness and decision that Elizabeth throughout her reign kept the nonconformists at bay. The House of Commons which met in 1581 was more Puritanic than ever, and actually began its proceedings by voting that the members should, on the second Sunday after, meet together in the Temple Church, there to have preaching and to join together in prayer, with humiliation and fasting, for the assistance of God's spirit in all their consultations! But when the queen was informed of this extraordinary proceeding, she instantly took measures to check so rampant a zeal. Hatton, her vice-chamberlain, was sent down with a message to the effect, that "she did much admire at so great a rashness in that House as to put in execution such an innovation without her privity and pleasure first made known to them." Upon which it was forthwith moved and agreed to, "That the House should acknowledge their offence and contempt, and humbly crave forgiveness, with a full purpose to forbear committing the like for the future."

It was during this very session that the act was passed

raising the penalty for non-attendance upon the parish church to 20*l.* per month; and also another act (23 Eliz. c. 2), intituled 'An Act against Seditious Words and Rumours uttered against the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty,' by which the devising and speaking seditious rumours against her majesty was made punishable with the pillory and loss of both ears; the reporting of such rumours with the pillory and loss of one ear;—the second offence in either case being made felony without clergy; and by which the printing, writing, or publishing any manner of book, rhyme, ballad, letter, or writing containing any false, seditious, and slanderous matter, to the defamation of the queen, &c., were constituted capital crimes. This last act was especially levelled at the Puritans, and several of them were put to death under its provisions. To this date is assigned the rise of what has been designated the third race of Puritans—the Brownists,—afterwards softened down into the Independents,—whose founder was Robert Brown, a preacher in the diocese of Norwich, descended of a good family. These people, says Neal, "were carried off to a total separation, and so far prejudiced as not to allow the Church of England to be a true church, nor her ministers true ministers; they renounced all communion with her, not only in the prayers and ceremonies, but in hearing the word and the sacraments."*

Archbishop Grindal, dying in 1583, was succeeded by Dr. Whitgift, who held the primacy during the remainder of the reign, and proved a ruler of the church altogether to her majesty's mind. As soon as he was seated in his place of eminence and authority he commenced a vigorous crusade against the nonconformists. Within a few weeks after he became archbishop he suspended many hundreds of the clergy in all parts of his province for refusing subscription to a new set of articles or regulations he thought proper to issue. He then procured from the queen a new ecclesiastical commission, drawn up in terms much more comprehensive than had ever before been em-

* Hist. Puritans, i. 245.

ployed, conveying, indeed, powers of inquisition and punishment in regard to every description of offence that could by any colour be brought within the category of spiritual or ecclesiastical delinquency. A set of articles, which Whitgift drew up for the use of this court in the examination of the clergy, were so strong as to startle even Cecil, and make him write to the archbishop (though to no purpose) to get him to mitigate them somewhat. "I have read over your twenty-four articles," he says, ". . . . and I find them so curiously penned that I think the inquisition of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their priests." The archbishop's proceedings had thrown the nation into the greatest ferment when parliament met in November, 1584; and the Commons immediately proceeded to take into consideration a number of bills for restraining the power of the church. But as soon as they had passed the first of them a thundering message from the queen again stopped them in an instant. In 1592, at the same time with the 'Act against Popish Recusants,' another act was passed (35 Eliz. c. 1) entitled 'An Act to retain the Queen's Subjects in Obedience,' to meet the case of the Protestant nonconformists. It was enacted that all persons above sixteen years of age who should for a whole month refuse to attend divine service according to law, or should attend unlawful conventicles, or should persuade others to dispute the queen's authority in matters ecclesiastical, should be sent to prison, there to remain until they should openly conform and submit themselves; and that all offenders convicted, and not conforming and submitting within three months, should abjure the realm, and should, if they returned, be put to death, as for felony, without benefit of clergy.

Fines, imprisonment, and the gibbet continued to do their work in the vain attempt of the church and the government to put down opinion by these inefficient arms till within four or five years of the close of the reign.

But the history of the church and of religion during this reign ought not to be brought to a close without the mention of one instance in which the old writ *de hæretico*

comburendo was again called into use, and the stake and the fagot were employed by Elizabeth to punish a mere religious opinion, exactly in the same manner as they had been employed by her father and her sister. On Easter-day, 1575, twenty-seven German Anabaptists, as they were called, were apprehended in the city of London, having been found assembled at worship in a private house beyond Aldersgate. The errors which they were accused of holding appear to have been the four following:—1. That Christ took not flesh of the substance of the Virgin: 2. That infants born of faithful parents ought to be rebaptized: 3. That no Christian man ought to be a magistrate: 4. That it is not lawful for a Christian man to take an oath. Four of them consented to recant these opinions; the others, refusing to abjure, were brought to trial in the Consistory Court, by which eleven of them were condemned to be burned. Nine of the eleven were banished; but the remaining two, named John Wielmacker and Hendrick Ter Woort, were actually, on the 22nd of July, consigned to the flames in Smithfield. This execution was Elizabeth's own act: to his eternal honour, John Fox, the venerable martyrologist, ventured to interfere in behalf of the unfortunate men, and wrote an earnest and eloquent letter in Latin to the queen, beseeching her to spare their lives; but his supplication was sternly rejected. Fox seems to have been almost the only man of his time who was at all shocked at the notion of destroying these poor Anabaptists; and yet he merely objected to the degree, and more especially to the kind, of the punishment. His argument is not so much for toleration as against capital punishments, and above all against the punishment of burning. "There are excommunications," he says, "and close imprisonments; there are bonds; there is perpetual banishment, burning of the hand, and whipping, or even slavery itself. This one thing I most earnestly beg, that the piles and flames in Smithfield, so long ago extinguished by your happy government, may not now be again revived."*

* Translation in Crosby's History of the English Baptists.

After the full narrative which has been given in the preceding chapter of the course of transactions in Scotland during the latter part of this period, which almost all turned upon the contest between the old and new religion, it will be sufficient here merely to recapitulate the leading epochs of the progress of the Reformation in that country.

The execution of Patrick Hamilton, styled abbot or pensionary of Ferme, properly the first martyr of the Reformation in Scotland, took place at St. Andrew's on the 29th of February, 1528. He was burned before the gate of St. Salvator's College on the afternoon of the same day on which he was condemned; and the meek heroism with which he endured his terrible death stirred a feeling far and wide among his countrymen which made that hour a memorable and fatal one for the ancient church. Among several persons who were soon after sent to the stake for having expressed their sympathy or admiration, one was a Benedictine friar named Henry Forest, who was also burned at St. Andrew's.

In 1543, in the first parliament held after the appointment of the Earl of Arran to the regency, an act was passed, permitting the people, for the first time, to read the Scriptures in their mother-tongue. This measure gave a great impulse to the progress of the Reformed doctrines, which was little checked either by the regent's recantation of Protestantism that immediately followed, or by the frequent executions for heresy by which the church still vainly sought to prop its tottering power. On the 2nd of March, 1545, George Wisheart was burned in front of the castle of St. Andrew's; in which, on the 29th of May of the following year, the great head of the papal party, the archbishop and chancellor, Cardinal Beaton, was assassinated by Norman Lesley and his confederates.

The death of the cardinal was a fatal blow to the cause of the ancient religion in Scotland. At a provincial council which met at Linlithgow, and then adjourned to Edinburgh, in 1549, under the presidency of James Hamilton, the new primate, a reformation of the manners of ecclesiastical persons was attempted to be en-

forced by the publication of a new code of fifty-seven canons; in the preamble to which it was admitted that the two prime causes of the prevailing heresies were, the corruption and profane lewdness of the clergy of almost every degree, and their gross ignorance in all branches of learning. Other councils, held in 1551 and 1552, laboured in the carrying forward and completion of the same design.

On the 29th of April, 1558, the last of the Scottish martyrs suffered at St. Andrew's, an old, infirm priest, named Walter Mill.

But people and nobles alike were now banded and arrayed in force no longer to be resisted against the doomed church. The next year Knox returned from Geneva, and, roused by his eloquence, the popular fury swept some of the wealthiest provinces of the land like a hurricane, and in a few days covered the earth with the ruins of all their stateliest temples and most venerated shrines. On the 29th of June the Lords of the Congregation entered Edinburgh in arms and took possession of that capital. On the 1st of August, 1560, a parliament assembled, which, in the course of that month, abolished for ever the pope's jurisdiction and authority, and annulled all statutes made in preceding times for the maintenance of the old religion. An act was also passed for demolishing all such cloisters and abbey-churches as were not yet pulled down. There is probably nothing to match this act to be found in the records of legislation.

No form of church polity, however, was established either by this parliament or by that of 1567, in the first year of James VI., by which its proceedings were ratified, and the doubts removed which were occasioned by their validity never having been acknowledged by the lately deposed queen. In these circumstances the church, of its own authority, established, as far as it had the means of so doing, the order of things laid down in a scheme drawn up by Knox, and known by the name of the 'First Book of Discipline.'* The principal peculiarity

* The First Book of Discipline is given in Spotswood's History, p. 152—174.

of this arrangement was the appointment of twelve provincial chiefs of the clergy, with the title of Superintendents: in other respects it was copied from the Presbyterian model established at Geneva. The government of the church was carried on by presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies. Still, however, the bishops, not having been formally deprived by the parliament, retained their sees; and successors even continued, for some time, to be appointed to those of them who died, with the consent of the church. But the General Assembly soon began to set itself against that anomaly. In 1574 they enacted that the jurisdiction of bishops should not exceed that of superintendents; in 1576 they declared the title of bishop to be common to every one that hath a particular flock over which he hath a peculiar charge; in 1577 they ordained that all bishops should be in future called by their own names instead of by those of their dioceses; and in 1580 they unanimously voted episcopacy to be unscriptural and unlawful. In 1581 they drew up and agreed upon a new Book of Policy, wherein no mention was made of either bishops or superintendents, except that pastors or ministers of congregations were stated to be sometimes called bishops, "because they watch over their flock."* At last, in 1592, the Presbyterian form of church government by general assemblies, provincial synods, presbyteries, and kirk sessions, received the full sanction of parliament. In 1597, however, an act was passed, to which the General Assembly assented the following year, for the appointment to seats in parliament of certain representatives of the clergy—an innovation which in some degree restored the order of bishops substantially, though not in name. This was the legal constitution of the Scottish church at the close of the present period.

* See this scheme, which is called the 'Second Book of Discipline,' in Calderwood, pp. 102—116.

BOOK VII.

THE PERIOD FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES I. TO THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.

A.D. 1603—1660.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

ENGLAND.
1603 James I.
1625 Charles I.
1649 Commonwealth.

FRANCE.
1610 Louis XIII.
1643 Louis XIV.

GERMANY.
1612 Matthias.
1619 Ferdinand II.
1637 Ferdinand III.
1658 Leopold I.

SPAIN.
1621 Philip IV.

PORTUGAL.
1640 John IV.
1656 Alfonso VI.

SWEDEN.
1604 Charles IX.
1611 Gustavus Adolphus.
1632 Christina.
1654 Charles X.

DENMARK.
1648 Frederick III.

POPES.
1605 Leo XI.
1605 Paul V.
1621 Gregory XV.
1623 Urban VIII.
1644 Innocent X.
1655 Alexander VII.

CHAPTER I.

James I.

As soon as Elizabeth breathed her last, Lady Scrope, a daughter of her relative, the late Lord Hunsdon, communicated the intelligence to her brother, Sir Robert Carey, who had been on the watch; and who, anticipating Cecil and the other lords of the council, stole out of the palace at Richmond, where the queen had expired at three o'clock on the morning of Thursday, the 24th of March, and posted down to Scotland, in order to be the first to hail James Stuart as king of England. This tender relative arrived at Edinburgh on the night of Saturday the 26th, four days before Sir Charles Percy and Thomas Somerset, Esq., who were despatched by the council; but it was agreed with James to keep the great matter a secret, until the formal despatch from London should reach him. Sir Robert Carey had scarcely taken horse for the north when Cecil, Nottingham, Egerton and others, met in secret debate at Richmond at an early hour, before the queen's death was known; and these lords "knowing above all things delays to be most dangerous," proceeded at once to London, and drew up a proclamation in the name "of the lords spiritual and temporal, united and assisted with the late queen's council, other principal gentlemen, the lord mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London, a multitude of other good subjects and commons of the realm." This proclamation bore thirty-six signatures, the three first being those of Robert Lee, lord mayor of London, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lord Keeper, Egerton; the three last, those of Secretary Sir Robert Cecil, Sir J. Fortescue, and Sir John Popham. It was signed and ready about five hours after Elizabeth's decease; and

then those who had signed it went out of the council chamber at Whitehall, with Secretary Cecil at their head, who had taken the chief direction of the business, and who in the front of the palace read to the people the proclamation, which assured them that the queen's majesty was really dead, and that the right of succession was wholly in James king of Scots, now king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. They then went to the High Cross in Cheapside, where Cecil again read the proclamation, and when he had done, "the multitude with one consent cried aloud,—'God save King James!'" for all parties, or rather the three great religious sects, High Churchmen, Puritans, and Papists, all promised themselves advantages from his accession. Cecil next caused three heralds and a trumpeter to proclaim the said tidings within the walls of the Tower, where the heart of many a state-prisoner leaped for joy, and where the Earl of Southampton, the friend of the unfortunate Essex, joined the rest in their signs of great gladness.* Of the other thirteen or fourteen conflicting claims to the succession which had been reckoned up at different times during Elizabeth's reign, not one appears to have been publicly mentioned, or even alluded to; and the right of James was allowed to pass unquestioned. Such had been the able management of Cecil—such was the readiness of the nation to acknowledge the Scottish king, or their laudable anxiety to avoid a disputed succession and civil war.

There was one person, however, whose claim excited uneasiness in the cautious mind of Cecil,—this was the Lady Arabella Stuart, daughter of the Earl of Lennox, younger brother of James's father, Darnley, and descended equally from the stock of Henry VII.† This

* Stow.—Weldon.—Osborne.—Memoirs of Sir Robert Carey.

† James's claim, however, was not at all through his father Lord Darnley, but through his mother, who, as the grand-daughter of James IV. by his wife Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII., was, after Elizabeth, the next representative of that king. The Lady Arabella and her

young lady was by birth an Englishwoman, a circumstance which had been considered by some as making up for her defect of primogeniture, for James, though nearer, was a born Scotchman and alien. Cecil for some time had had his eye upon the Lady Arabella, and she was now safe in his keeping. Eight hundred dangerous or turbulent persons, indistinctly described as "vagabonds," were seized in two nights in London, and sent to serve on board the Dutch fleet. No other outward precautions were deemed necessary by the son of Burghley, who calmly waited the coming of James and his own great reward, without asking for any pledge for the privileges of parliament, the liberties of the people, or the reform of abuses which had grown with the growing prerogative of the crown. But these were things altogether overlooked, not only by Cecil and Nottingham and those who acted with them, but also by the parties opposed to them, the most remarkable man among whom was Sir Walter Raleigh, who, like all the other courtiers or statesmen, looked entirely to his own interest or aggrandisement.

Between the spiritual pride and obstinacy of his clergy, the turbulent, intriguing habits of his nobles, and his own poverty, James had led rather a hard life in Scotland. He was eager to take possession of England, which he looked upon as the very Land of Promise; but so poor was he that he could not begin his journey until Cecil sent him down money. He asked for the crown jewels of England for the queen his wife; but the council did not think fit to comply with this request: and, on the 6th day of April, he set out for Berwick, without wife or jewels. On arriving at that ancient town he fired off, with his own hand, a great piece of ordnance, an unusual effort of courage on his part. On the same day he wrote to his "right trusty and right well-beloved cousins and counsellors, the lords and others of his privy council at London," thanking them for the money which they had

uncle Lord Darnley were descended from the same Margaret Tudor, but by her *second* marriage with Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox.

sent, telling them that he would hasten his journey as much as conveniently he might,—that he intended to tarry awhile at the city of York, and to make his entry therein in some such solemn manner as appertained to his dignity, and that, therefore, he should require that all such things as they in their wisdom thought meet should be sent down to York. The body of Elizabeth was still above ground, and it would have been regular in him to attend her funeral in person. He assured the lords that he could be well contented to do that, and all other honour he might, unto "the queen defunct;" and he referred it to their consideration, whether it would be more honour for her to have the funeral finished before he came, or to wait and have him present at it. Cecil and his friends knew what all this meant, and hastened the funeral: there was no rejoicing successor present; but fifteen hundred persons in deep mourning voluntarily followed the body of Elizabeth to Westminster Abbey. The king was a slow traveller. Seven days after, or on the 13th of April, he had got no farther than Newcastle, whence he wrote another letter, commanding coins of different denominations to be struck in gold and silver. He gave minute directions as to arms, quarterings, and mottoes. By the 15th of April he had reached the house of Sir William Ingleby at Topcliff; and from that place he wrote a curious letter, to the lord keeper, the lord treasurer, the lord admiral, the master of the horse, and the principal secretary for the time being. All his circumlocution and care could not conceal his ill-humour at their not coming to meet him, and their still delaying to send the crown jewels. It is said that James, in conversing with some of his English counsellors about his prerogative, exclaimed joyously, "Do I make the judges? Do I make the bishops? Then, God's wounds! I make what likes me law and gospel!" Though he had hardly ever had the due and proper authority of a king in his own country, he had long indulged in a speculative absolutism, and, as far as his cowardice and indolence allowed him, he came fully prepared to rule the people of England as a despot. To enliven his journey he

hunted along the road. He was a miserable horsemen, but his courtiers invented for him a sort of "hunting made easy;" yet, notwithstanding their system and his own great caution, his majesty got a fall off his horse, near Belvoir Castle. "But God be thanked," adds Cecil in relating the accident to the ambassador in France, "he hath no harm at all by it, and it is no more than may befall any other *great and extreme rider* as he is, at least once every month."* As he approached the English capital, hosts of courtiers and aspirants after places hurried to meet him and pay their homage. Among these the last was not the great Francis Bacon, who, in a letter to the Earl of Northumberland, has left us a curious record of his first impressions.†

Other persons who were not, as Bacon was, afraid of going farther into these tender arguments, expressed astonishment, if not disgust, at the very unroyal person and behaviour of the new sovereign, whose legs were too weak to carry his body,—whose tongue was too large for his mouth,—whose eyes were goggle, rolling and yet vacant,—whose apparel was neglected and dirty,—whose whole appearance and bearing was slovenly and ungainly; while his unmanly fears were betrayed by his wearing a thickly wadded dagger-proof doublet, and by many other ridiculous precautions. To such as hungered after the honours of knighthood, he may have appeared in a more favourable light, for, as he went along, he profusely distributed these honours: in fact he appears to have bestowed the honour of knighthood on nearly every person that came to him during this hey-day journey. At last, on the 3rd of May, he reached Theobalds, the sumptuous seat of Secretary Cecil, where, as at other gentlemen's houses at which he had staid, he was astonished at the luxury, comparative elegance, and comfort he found. He was met by all the lords of the late queen's council, who knelt down and did their homage, after which the Lord Keeper Egerton made a grave oration, in the name of

* Sir Henry Ellis's Collection.

† Scrinia Sacra, a supplement to the Cabala.

all, signifying their assured love and allegiance. On the morrow he made twenty-eight more knights.

But it was not for these operations that Cecil had induced him to take Theobalds on his way; and during the four days which the king passed there, that wily statesman ingratiated himself with his new master, and remodelled a cabinet very much (though not entirely) to his own satisfaction. The chief objects of Cecil's present jealousy were the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Grey, Lord Cobham, and the versatile, intriguing, and ambitious Sir Walter Raleigh, who, very fortunately for Cecil, had given grounds of offence to the king before Elizabeth's demise. Northumberland, who employed the cogent advocacy and eloquent tongue of Bacon, was promised a share in the king's favour; but Cobham and Grey were cut off from promotion, and Raleigh, who aspired to the highest posts, was deprived of the subordinate ones which he had held.* Cecil was retained, together with his friends Nottingham, Henry and Thomas Howard, Buckhurst, Mountjoy, and Egerton, to whom James added four Scottish lords and his secretary, Elphinstone, a nomination which instantly called forth jealousy and discontent.

On the 7th of May the king moved towards London, and was met at Stamford Hill by the lord mayor and aldermen of London, in scarlet robes; and about six o'clock in the evening he arrived at the Charter House, where he made some more knights. On the same day proclamation was made that all the monopolies granted by the late queen should be suspended till they had been examined by the king and council,†— that all royal pro-

* He was allowed to retain the government of the island of Jersey, which had been given to him by Elizabeth.—*Sir Hen. Ellis's Letters.*

† Lodge (Illustrations) gives a complete list of these monopolies. One of them gives Symon Farmer and John Crafford an exclusive right "to transport all manner of horns for twenty-one years." One gives Bryan Amersley the sole right of buying *steel* beyond seas, and of selling the same within this realm. One confines to Ede Schets the

tections that hindered men's suits in law should cease, and that the oppressions done by salt-petre makers, purveyors, and cart-takers, for the use of the court, should be put down. These were valuable instalments if they had been held sacred; but a few days after James, "being a prince above all others addicted to hunting," issued another proclamation, prohibiting all manner of persons whatsoever from killing deer, and all kinds of wild-fowl used for hunting and hawking upon pain of the severest penalties.*

From the Charter House James removed to the Tower, where he made more knights, and from the Tower he proceeded to Greenwich, where he made more. By the time he had set foot in his palace of Whitehall, he had knighted two hundred individuals of all kinds and colours, and before he had been three months in England he had lavished the honour on some seven hundred; nor was he very chary even of the honour of the English peerage, which Elizabeth held at so high a price. He presently made four earls and nine barons, among whom was Cecil, who became Lord Cecil, afterwards Viscount Cranborne, and finally Earl of Salisbury. Several of the English promotions excited surprise and derision; but these feelings gave place to more angry passions when he elevated his Scottish followers to seats in the House of Lords. Before he had done he added sixty-two names to the list of the peerage.

Towards the end of June, James met his queen and his children (with the exception of Charles, his second son, who had been left behind in Scotland) at Windsor Castle, where the young prince Henry was installed knight of the Order of the Garter. On the 22nd of July the court removed to Westminster, where the king, in his garden, dubbed knights all the judges, all the ser-

sole right of exporting ashes and old shoes for seven years. One gives *Sir Walter Raleigh* the faculty of dispensing licences for keeping of taverns and retailing of wines throughout all England.

* Stow.—Roger Coke, Detection of the Court and State of England, &c.

jeants-at-law,* all the doctors of civil law, all the gentlemen ushers, and "many others of divers qualities." Splendid preparations had been made for the coronation of the king and queen with pageants and shows of triumph; but as the plague was raging in the city of London and the suburbs, the people were not permitted to go to Westminster to see the sight, but forbidden by proclamation, lest the infection should be further spread —for there died that week in London and the suburbs of all diseases 1103; of the plague 857. To increase the inauspicious aspect of things, the weather was darker and more rainy than had ever been known at such a season.† On the 25th of July the coronation took place.

However weak might be the personal character of James, the power of the great nation he was called to govern was not to be despised by the contending states on the continent. Almost immediately on his arrival, special ambassadors began to flock from all parts, to congratulate him on his accession, and to win him each to the separate views and interests of his court. The first embassy that arrived was from the states of Holland, Zealand, and the United Provinces, which stood most in need of English assistance. But the suitors of Portia in the immortal drama scarcely arrived with more rapidity to woo the beautiful heiress, than did the rival diplomatists to win the good graces of James. James had no sympathy for the emancipated subjects of Spain, who had prevailed in their struggle for independence, in good part through the assistance lent to them by Elizabeth; and when over his cups he spoke of the Hollanders as rebels and traitors to their lawful sovereign. The Hollanders, moreover, had not been very grateful for aid which had been lent from selfish motives, and they were slow in paying the money they owed to England. The Archduke of Austria, on the other hand, showed a great disposition to liberality, and it appears pretty certain that his envoy d'Aremberg would have prevailed with James,

* Among the serjeants thus knighted was Francis Bacon.
† Stow.

had it not been for the address, the winning manners, and the gold of Rosny, the French ambassador, who distributed bribes among the needy courtiers, and, it is said, bribed the queen herself. James agreed to, and even ratified a treaty, in which he bound himself with Henry IV. to send secret assistance in money to the States, and, in case of Philip's attacking France, to join in open hostilities. Rosny departed rejoicing; but it was soon found that King James had no money to spare, and that he was resolved to live in peace, even at the cost of the national honour. Pride prevented the Spanish court from suing directly for a peace, but Philip told some desperate English Catholic plotters that he wished to live in amity with James; and he soon sent over a regular ambassador to negotiate in his own name. Denmark, Poland, the Palatinate, some other German states, Tuscany, and Venice, had already despatched their envoys, and to all of them the king had said, "Peace at home and abroad!—above all things peace."*

But he had already been made acquainted with a plot which he thought threatened not only to disturb peace at home, but also to deprive him of his throne and life. Sir Walter Raleigh, who was smarting with the pangs of disappointed ambition, and transported with jealousy of the prevailing influence of Cecil, was further enraged by the king's depriving him of his valuable patent of the monopoly of licensing taverns and retailing wines throughout all England, and by seeing his honourable post of captain of the guard bestowed upon one of the Scottish adventurers. In spite of his consummate abilities, he was a rash politician; and our respect for his genius ought not to blind us to the fact that, in the pursuit of rank, power, and wealth, he could be a selfish, dangerous, and remorseless man. His political associate, Lord Cobham, who had joined with him and Cecil in ruining the Earl of Essex, was now equally a disappointed and desperate man. The Lord Grey of Wilton, who had partaken in

* Stow.—Coke.—Wilson.—Lodge.—The Memoirs attributed to Sully.—Birch, Negotiations.

their disgrace, partook also in their discontent and ill-will against Cecil; but he was inspired by higher, or less interested motives, than Raleigh and Cobham. Each of these men had his partisans of inferior condition, and, up to a certain point, the disappointed Earl of Northumberland, whom James had amused with promises "as a child with a rattle,"* went along with them, and seems to have been a party in intriguing with Rosny and with Beaumont, the resident ambassador of France, who had both been instructed to sow dissensions in the English cabinet, and to overthrow, if possible, the power of Cecil.† Here Northumberland stopped. The other three proceeded, at times in concert, at times separately, and with diverging views. They would all have been powerless and clientless, but for the unhappy disputes and heartburnings in matters of religion, and the disgust which many men felt at the king's being admitted without any pledge or assurance for the redress of grievances, and the better observance of the rights of parliament. The Puritans, who were still growing in consideration, wished for the establishment of a Presbyterian church, somewhat like that which had been set up by Knox and his associates in Scotland; the Catholics wished, for themselves, toleration, and *something more;* some minor and very weak sects would have been satisfied with simple toleration; but the High Church party—the only true Protestants by act of parliament—were determined to oppose all these wishes and claims, and to press for a uniformity of faith to be upheld by the whole power of the penal statutes. Before his coming to the crown of England, James had made large promises to the Catholics; but, on his arrival in London, he threw himself into the arms of the high churchmen, who easily alarmed him as to the anti-monarchical influences of the court of Rome. He swore that he would fight to death against a toleration; and he sent

* An expression of Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, in a letter to Mr. David Bruce.—Lord Hailes, Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with James VI., King of Scotland.

† Despatches of Beaumont, as quoted by Carte.

some Irish deputies to the Tower for petitioning for it.* The oppressed and impatient began to conspire several weeks before the coronation, and their plots, loosely bound together by their common discontent, were pretty certain to fall asunder of themselves. It should appear that the Catholics, the most oppressed party, took the initiative; but the fact is not certain, and it is impossible to explain by what means they were brought to coalesce with the Puritans, who were more intolerant of their faith than the high churchmen. Sir Griffin Markham, a Catholic of small property or influence, joined with two secular priests, Watson and Clarke, and with George Brooke, a brother of Lord Cobham's, and an able but unprincipled man.† The priest, Watson, had been with James in Scotland previous to Elizabeth's death to gain his favour for the Catholics; and he said afterwards to the council, that the king's broken promises and determination to allow of no toleration to his church had induced him to enter into the plot. He was for a time the chief mover in it: he drew up and administered a terrible oath of secrecy, and, together with Clarke, laboured and travelled incessantly to induce the Catholic gentry to join the cause. He was, however, remarkably unsuccessful; for, of the Catholic gentry, scarcely one joined the conspirators of any weight or consequence, except Anthony Copley, of the west of England. It was probably on this failure (he must have moved and acted rapidly) that Watson won over the chief leaders of the Puritans by concealing from them the greater part of his

* Despatches of Beaumont, the French ambassador.

† Mr. Jardine ('Criminal Trials') says, "It is difficult to ascertain what could be Brooke's motive for joining the conspiracy, as he was actuated neither by political nor religious considerations." Mr. Tytler ('Life of Raleigh') thinks it extremely probable that Cecil, aware of the intrigues of the Catholic priests, engaged Brooke, who was his *brother-in-law*, to become a party to their discontents, that he might discover and betray their secrets. And Mr. Tytler quotes several contemporary documents which go to establish this conviction.

views. Lord Grey of Wilton was a Puritan, and, though a young man, the leader of his party, and he entered into the plot, and engaged to furnish one hundred men well mounted. Lord Cobham, and perhaps Raleigh, were privy to this conspiracy; but it appears that they took no active part in it, being engaged in a separate plot of their own. Cecil says that Grey was drawn into the "priest's treason" in ignorance that so many Papists were engaged in the action, and that as soon as he had knowledge of their numbers, he sought to sever himself from them by dissuading the execution of their project till some future time. This project was, to seize the king's person, and to keep him in confinement (as the Scotch had done before them) till he changed his ministers, and granted a toleration, together with a free pardon to all who had been concerned in the plot. Such was the constitution of the "Bye Plot," as it was called. The "Main," in which Raleigh and Cobham were engaged, was far more compact, but still weak and wild; and George Brooke, the brother-in-law, and *suspected* tool of Cecil, was engaged in it, as well as in the "Bye."

On the 24th of June, the day appointed by the "Bye" for seizing the king on his road to Windsor, Lord Grey and his hundred men were not at the place of meeting, and the priest Watson and his Catholic friends were too weak to attempt anything. On the 6th of July Anthony Copley was arrested; and as he was timid and ready to confess, and as Cecil knew already (if not through Brooke, through other parties) of the whole plot of the "Bye," Sir Griffin Markham, the priests Watson and Clarke, and the rest of Copley's confederates, were presently apprehended. Cecil, who appears to have been as well acquainted with the "Main" as with the "Bye," met Sir Walter Raleigh on the terrace at Windsor, and requested his attendance before the lords of the council, then secretly assembled in the castle. Raleigh obeyed the summons, and was instantly questioned touching his friend Cobham's private dealings with *the Count d'Aremberg*. At first he asserted that

there could have been no unwarrantable or treasonable practices between Cobham and that ambassador; but on being further pressed, he said that La Rensy, d'Aremberg's servant, might better explain what passed than he could do. Sir Walter was allowed to depart a free man, and he forthwith wrote a letter to Cecil, recommending him to interrogate La Rensy. It is said that Raleigh then wrote to Cobham, warning him of his danger, and that this letter was intercepted by Cecil. Cobham was called before the council, where, by showing Raleigh's letter to himself, advising him to question d'Aremberg's servant, and by otherwise working on his temper, Cecil made Cobham believe that he had been basely betrayed by Raleigh, and then confess that he had been led into a conspiracy by his friend Sir Walter. Both were secured and committed to the Tower, where, on the 27th of July, two days after the king's coronation, Raleigh is said to have attempted his own life.*

On account of the plague, which made the king's ministers, judges, and lawyers flee from place to place, and partly owing to the presence of d'Aremberg, who did not leave England till October, no judicial proceedings were instituted till the 15th of November, when the commoners implicated in the "Bye" were arraigned in Winchester Castle. "Brooke, Markham, Brookesby, Copley, and the two priests," says a narrative of the affair written at the moment, "were condemned for practising the surprise of the king's person, the taking of the Tower, the deposing of counsellors, and proclaiming liberty of religion. They were all condemned upon their own confessions, which were set down under their own hands as declarations, and compiled with such labour and care, to make the matter they undertook seem very feasible, as if they had feared they should not say enough to hang themselves."† It had not been thought con-

* Cayley, Life of Raleigh.—Howell, State Trials.

† Letter from Sir Dudley Carleton to Mr. John Chamberlain (in Hardwicke State papers), dated November 27, 1603. See also Howell's State Trials.

venient to place the able Raleigh with these poor blunderers, or to try him for his privity to the "Bye." He was tried upon the "Main;" his trial "served for a whole act, and he played all the parts himself."

Raleigh's trial lasted from eight in the morning till eleven at night. The only evidence produced against him was the wavering and partly contradictory confession of Cobham, together with a letter written by Cobham the day before, in which he accused Raleigh as the first mover of the plot. The overt acts charged were, that, on the 9th of June, Sir Walter Raleigh had conferred with Lord Cobham about advancing Arabella Stuart to the crown of England; that it was then agreed between them that Lord Cobham should go to the King of Spain and the Archduke of Austria, in order to obtain from them six hundred thousand crowns for the purpose of supporting Arabella Stuart's title; that Arabella Stuart should write letters to the King of Spain, the Archduke, and the Duke of Savoy, and undertake with them these three things: Peace with Spain, — toleration of the popish religion in England, — and to marry according to the King of Spain's will. The indictment further charged, that it was agreed that Cobham should return from the continent by Jersey, and there meet Sir Walter Raleigh (who had been allowed to retain the government of that island) to consult further as to the best means of working out the plot, and as to the public men and others who were to be bribed and bought with the six hundred thousand crowns; that, on the same 9th of June, Lord Cobham communicated the plot to George Brooke, who assented to it; that, on the 12th of June, Cobham and Brooke said, "that there never would be a good world in England till the king and his cubs were taken away;" that Raleigh delivered to Cobham a book written against the king's title to the crown; that Cobham, at the instigation of Raleigh, persuaded Brooke to urge Arabella Stuart to write the letters aforesaid; that, on the 19th of June, Cobham wrote letters to the Ambassador d'Aremberg for the advance of six hundred thousand crowns, and sent the letters by La Rensy; that

d'Aremberg promised the money; and that then Cobham promised Raleigh that he would give him eight thousand crowns of it, and Brooke one thousand crowns.

To this indictment, which, indisputably, included many absurdities, Sir Walter pleaded not guilty. The king's serjeant, Heale, opened the points of the indictment: in the conclusion of his speech he said, with some simplicity, "as for the Lady Arabella, she hath no more title to the crown than I have; and, before God, I utterly renounce any." Raleigh smiled. The great Coke, as attorney-general, then took up the case with excessive heat and bitterness. He began by describing the horrible intentions of the "Bye," among which he mentioned, *that the traitors had intended to make proclamation against monopolies.* "I pray you, gentlemen of the jury," said Raleigh, "remember I am not charged with the 'Bye,' which was the treason of the priests." "You are not," said Coke, "but it will be seen that all these treasons, though they consisted of several parts, closed in together, like Samson's foxes, which were joined in their tails though their heads were separated." After a deal of pedantry, and some punning, Coke, still connecting the prisoner with the "Bye," Raleigh asked what was the treason of the priests to him. "I will then come close to you," said Coke; "I will prove you to be the most notorious traitor that ever came to the bar: you are indeed upon the 'Main,' but you have followed them of the 'Bye' in imitation." He proceeded with increasing violence, charging Raleigh with things not in the indictment, calling him "a damnable atheist," —"a spider of hell,"—"the most vile and execrable of traitors!" In some parts of his remarkable defence Raleigh rose to a rare eloquence. "I was not so bare of sense," said he, "but I saw that if ever this state was strong and able to defend itself, it was now. The kingdom of Scotland united, whence we were wont to fear all our troubles; Ireland quieted, where our forces were wont to be divided. . . . . I was not such a madman as to make myself in this time, a Robin Hood, a Wat Tyler, or a Jack Cade. I knew, also, the state of the

Spanish king well,—his weakness, and poorness, and humbleness, at this time. I knew that six times we had repulsed his forces, thrice in Ireland, thrice at sea, and once at Cadiz, on his own coast. Thrice had I served against him myself at sea, wherein for my country's sake I had expended, of my own properties, four thousand pounds. I knew that where before-time he was wont to have forty great sails at the least in his ports, now he hath not past six or seven; and, for sending to his Indies, he was driven to hire strange vessels, a thing contrary to the institutions of his proud ancestors, who straitly forbad, in case of any necessity, that the kings of Spain should make their case known to strangers. I knew that of five-and-twenty millions he had from his Indies, he had scarce any left; nay, I knew his poorness at this time to be such that the Jesuits, his imps, were fain to beg at the church doors; his pride so abated as, notwithstanding his former high terms, he was glad to congratulate the king, my master, on his accession, and now cometh creeping unto him for peace."

Coke said that the Lord Cobham was "a good and honourable gentlemen till overtaken by this wretch." Raleigh said that Cobham was "a poor, silly, base, dishonourable soul!" He demanded that he and his accuser should be brought face to face: he appealed to the statutes of Edward VI., which required two witnesses for the condemning a man to death on a charge of treason; and to the law of God, or the Jewish law, which made that number of witnesses necessary to prove any capital charge. "If," he said, "you proceed to condemn me by bare inferences, upon a paper accusation, you try me by the Spanish inquisition." At the end of another most eloquent speech, he exclaimed, "My lords, let Cobham be sent for: I know he is in this very house! I beseech you let him be confronted with me! Let him be here openly charged upon his soul,—upon his allegiance to the king,—and if he will then maintain his accusation to my face, I will confess myself guilty!" To his prayer for producing Cobham in court, the crown lawyers paid no attention whatever, persisting in their

denunciations and abuse with astounding volubility. But there was not a man less likely to submit easily to the common process of "being talked to death by lawyers:" he could talk with the best of them, and he fought them all, hard and firm, to the last. "I *will* have the last word for the king!" said Coke. "Nay, I will have the last word for my life!" replied the prisoner. In the end, the jury returned a reluctant verdict of guilty. The frightful sentence, with all its revolting details, was then pronounced. Sir Walter after this used no words to the court openly, but desired to speak privately with the Earl of Suffolk, the Earl of Devonshire, the Lord Henry Howard, and my Lord Cecil, whom he entreated to be suitors in his behalf to his majesty, that, in regard of the places of honour he had held, his death might be honourable and not ignominious. The lords promised to do their best for him: the court rose, and the undaunted prisoner was carried up again to the castle. Raleigh's conduct gained for him the admiration of his bitterest enemies, and, with the exception of the court cabal, which dreaded his wondrous wit and abilities more than ever, there was scarcely a man in the kingdom but would have become a petitioner for his pardon.

The fair and accomplished Lady Arabella, whose name was repeatedly mentioned in the evidence against Raleigh, and who was soon to be far more hapless and helpless than the prisoner at the bar, was present at the trial. Cecil said that she, the king's near kinswoman, was innocent of all these things; only she received a letter from my Lord Cobham to prepare her, which she laughed at, and immediately sent it to the king. And the lord admiral (Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham, formerly Lord Howard of Effingham), who was with the Lady Arabella in a gallery, stood up and said, that the lady, there present, protested, upon her salvation, that she never dealt in any of these things.* It is, indeed, generally admitted that she never entertained a hope or a wish of establishing her claim to the throne,

* Lodge, Illustrations.

and that she was perfectly innocent of any project or plot. The Lords Cobham and Grey were arraigned separately before a commission consisting of eleven earls and nineteen barons.* "Cobham," says an eye-witness, "led the way on Friday. . . . Never was seen so poor and abject a spirit. He heard his indictment with much fear and trembling, and would sometimes interrupt it, by forswearing what he thought to be wrongly inserted."† He denied having had any design to set up the Lady Arabella. He was all submission and meekness to his judges—all violence against his companions in misfortune. He laid all the blame of what had been done amiss upon Raleigh, exclaiming bitterly against him. He inveighed still more bitterly against his own brother, George Brooke, terming him a corrupt and most wicked wretch, a murderer, a very viper. He accused young Harvey, the son of the lieutenant of the Tower, of having carried letters between him and Raleigh during their confinement. "Having thus accused all his friends and so little excused himself, the peers were not long in deliberation what to judge; and, after sentence of condemnation given, he begged a great while for life and favour, alleging his confession as a meritorious act."‡ To obtain favour, he represented that the king's father was his god-father, and that his own father had suffered imprisonment for the king's mother.§ The Puritan lord was far more manly. "Grey, quite in another key, began with great spirit and alacrity, spake a long and eloquent speech. . . . He held them the whole day, from eight in the morning till eight at night; but the evidence was too perspicuous." They had condemned the coward without hesitation, but they hesitated long ere they would give their verdict against

* "The Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Marr, and many Scottish lords stood as spectators; and of our ladies, the greatest part, as the Lady Nottingham, the Lady Suffolk, and *the Lady Arabella, who heard herself much spoken of these days.*"—Sir Dudley Carleton.

† Sir Dudley Carleton. ‡ Id.

§ Michael Hickes, in Lodge's Illustrations.

this brave young man."* When the Lords had given their verdict, and he was asked why sentence of death should not be pronounced, these were his only words:—"I have nothing to say;"—here he paused long;—"and yet a word of Tacitus comes in my mind —*Non eadem omnibus decora:* the House of the Wiltons hath spent many lives in their prince's service, and Grey cannot beg his. God send the king a long and prosperous reign, and to your lordships all honour!"† The only favour he asked was that he might be attended by a divine of his own persuasion. "It was determined" (to use the unfeeling language of a contemporary) "that the priests should lead the dance;" and, on the 29th of November, Watson and Clarke were executed at Winchester. They "were very bloodily handled." On the 5th of December Cobham's brother, George Brooke, who had been "persuaded to die well," by the Bishop of Chichester, sent from the court for that purpose, was brought to the scaffold also at Winchester; but *he* was merely beheaded like a gentleman, and was pitied by the people. His last words, with other circumstances, go to confirm the suspicion that Brooke had been first employed and then abandoned, by Cecil, to whom (as Clarendon has said of him) "it was as necessary there should be treasons as it was for the state to prevent them." By the king's orders the Bishop of Chichester went from the bleeding body of Brooke to his brother, the Lord Cobham; and, at the same time, the Bishop of Winchester was sent to Raleigh; "*both* by express order from *the king;* as well to prepare them for their ends, as to bring them to liberal confessions. . . . The Bishop of Chichester had soon done what he came for—finding in Cobham a readiness to die well; with purpose at

* Sir Dudley Carleton. All reports of the trial agree in praising the courage and eloquence of Grey of Wilton. Some notes of his speech are still to be seen in the State Paper Office. Mr. Jardine says, "It is an excellent speech, and replete with good sense and high feeling."—*Criminal Trials.*

† Id.

his death to affirm as much as he had said against Raleigh: but the other bishop had more to do with his charge; for though, for his conscience, he found him (Sir Walter) well settled, and resolved to die a Christian and a good Protestant, touching the point of confession he found him so straight-laced, that he would yield to no part of Cobham's accusation."* Lord Grey, who was also told to prepare for death, was left alone with his Puritan preacher, without being comforted, or troubled, by any bishop of the king's sending. Markham was told he should likewise die; but he was so assured by secret messages from some friends at court, that he would not believe it. The lords of the council, or some of them, advised the king, as he was in the beginning of his reign, to show examples of mercy as well as of severity; "but some others, led by their private spleen and passions, drew as hard the other way; and Patrick Galloway, in his sermon, preached so hotly against remissness and moderation of justice, in the head of justice, as if it were one of the seven deadly sins." James let the lords know that it became not them to be petitioners for mercy; but he told Galloway, or those who, taking the fanatic cue, pressed for immediate execution, that he would go no whit the faster for their driving.† He was revelling in the delights of a maze and mystery, the clearing up of which, he fancied, would impress his new subjects with a wonderful notion of his dexterity and genius. Men knew not what to think; but from the care he seemed to take to have the law hold its course, and the executions hastened, the friends and relatives of the prisoners concluded that there could be no hope of mercy. He signed the death-warrants of Markham, Grey, and Cobham, on Wednesday; and on Friday, at about ten o'clock, Markham was brought to the scaffold, and allowed to take a last farewell of his friends, and to prepare himself for the block. But, when the victim had suffered all that was most painful in death, one John Gib, a Scotch groom of the

* Sir Dudley Carleton. † Id.

bedchamber, secretly withdrew the sheriff for a while; whereupon the execution was stayed, and Markham left upon the scaffold to his own wretched thoughts. The sheriff, returning at last, told him, that as he was so badly prepared, he should have two hours' respite to make his peace with Heaven; and so led him from the scaffold without giving him any more comfort, and locked him up by himself. The Lord Grey, whose turn was next, was led to the scaffold by a troop of young noblemen, and was supported on both sides by two of his best friends. He had such gaiety and cheer in his countenance, that he looked like a young bridegroom. In front of the block he fell upon his knees, and prayed with the fervency and zeal of a religious spirit for more than half an hour, when, as he was ending, and was expecting the signal to stretch his neck under the axe, the sheriff suddenly told him he had received commands from the king to change the order of the execution, and that the Lord Cobham was to go before him. And thereupon Grey was likewise removed from the scaffold and locked up apart. While the people were lost in amazement, the third prisoner was led up to the block. "The Lord Cobham, who was now to play his part, and who, by his former actions promised nothing but *matière pour rire*, did much cozen the world; for he came to the scaffold with good assurance and contempt of death. . . . Some few words he used, to express his sorrow for his offence to the king, and crave pardon of him and the world; for Sir Walter Raleigh he took it, upon the hope of his soul's resurrection, that what he had said of him was true." He would have taken a farewell of the world, when he was stayed by the sheriff, and told that there was something else to be done,—that he was to be confronted with some other of the prisoners, naming no one. And thereupon Grey and Markham were brought back separately to the scaffold, each believing that his companions were already executed: and they looked strange and wildly one upon the other, "like men beheaded and met again in the other world." "Now all the actors being

together on the stage (as use is at the end of a play), the sheriff made a short speech unto them, by way of interrogatory, of the heinousness of their offences, the justness of their trials, their lawful condemnation, and due execution there to be performed; to all which they assented: then, said the sheriff, see the mercy of your prince, who of himself hath sent hither the countermand, and given you your lives. There was then no need to beg a *plaudite* of the audience, for it was given with such hues and cries that it went from the castle into the town, and there began afresh." Raleigh, who had a window in his prison opening upon the castle green, the scene of these strange doings, was hard put to it to beat out the meaning of the stratagem. His turn was to have come on the Monday following; but the king gave him pardon of life with the rest, and ordered him to be sent with Grey and Cobham to the Tower of London, there to remain during his royal pleasure.* The sapient James congratulated himself on the effect produced by his wonderful sagacity. Many persons had disbelieved Cobham's confession—some had even doubted whether there had been any serious plot at all, beyond a design on Raleigh's part to get money from the court of Spain, for promoting a favourable treaty of peace; but now they had heard Cobham repeat his confession in sight of the axe;† and though in the case of state prisoners many dying speeches had been notoriously false, men were still disposed to give great weight and credit to such orations and depositions.

The king took possession of the estates of the con-

* Sir Dudley Carleton, Letters to Mr. John Chamberlain in Hardwicke State Papers. The editor of this important work says,—"There are in the Salisbury Collection several letters from these prisoners during their confinement, which probably would throw light on their respective cases, *if they were published.*"

† Cecil said that the king's object was to see how far Cobham, at his death, would make good his accusations of Raleigh.

spirators, but for some time refused to give away any of their lands to his covetous courtiers. Lord Cobham, after some few years, was rather suffered to stray out of his prison in the Tower than released in form; a beggar, and an object of contempt, he found an asylum in a miserable house in the Minories, belonging to one who had formerly been his servant, and upon whose charity he meanly threw himself. There, in a wretched loft, accessible by means of a ladder, he died in 1619, the year after the bloody execution of Raleigh. The Lord Grey was more closely looked to; and he died a prisoner in the Tower in 1614. Raleigh remained in the same fortress till the month of March, 1615, when we shall meet him again, daring and enterprising as ever. Markham, Brooksby, and Copley, were banished the kingdom.*

In declaring that he would allow of no toleration, James pledged himself to become a persecutor; and there were men about him disposed to urge him to a rigid enforcement of the penal statutes, both against Catholics and Puritans. The former, knowing their weakness, were silent; but the Puritans soon drew up what they called their "millennary petition;"† wherein they called for reformation of certain ceremonies and abuses in the church, and for *a conference*. The latter was the sort of thing that James, who deemed himself the most learned and perfect of controversialists, loved above all others. He had, besides, a long-standing debt to square with the Puritans, who had not merely been a main cause of his unhapy mother's defamation and ruin—this he might have overlooked—but had also set his authority at nought, contradicted him and pestered him from his cradle till his departure for England, and

* Howell, State Trials.—Jardine, Crim. Trials.—Weldon.—Wilson.—Stow.—Hardwicke State Papers.—Cayley, Life of Raleigh.—Oldys.

† In allusion to its having nearly a thousand signatures of clergymen attached to it. The exact number was eight hundred.

had made him drain the cup of humiliation to its very dregs. He had been obliged to fall in with their views of church government, to conform to their gloomy creed. In the general assembly at Edinburgh, in 1590, "he stood up with his bonnet off, and his hands lifted up to heaven, and said, he praised God, that he was born in the time of the light of the gospel, and in such a place, as to be king of such a church, the sincerest (purest) kirk in the world."* From the year 1596, however, James had gone upon a directly opposite tack in ecclesiastical matters. In 1598, as has been related in the preceding Book, he had completely changed the constitution of the Scottish church, by appointing certain of the clergy to hold seats in parliament. The whole course of his policy as to ecclesiastical matters from this time forward tended to transform the Scottish establishment from a Presbyterian to an Episcopalian church. In 1599 he wrote and published for the instruction of his son Prince Henry, his 'Basilicon Doron,' a master-piece of pedantry, a model of abuse, against the Puritans and the whole church polity of Scotland! Nothing, he said, could be more monstrous than parity or equality in the church;—nothing more derogatory to the kingly dignity than the independence of preachers.†

These were the real sentiments of James; but the English bishops had neither a perfect confidence in his steadiness of purpose, nor a full acquaintance with his feelings, and for a while he kept them in an uncomfortable state of suspense. Like the chief personages in the tragi-comedy at Winchester, Markham, Cobham, and Grey, who did not know but that they were to be beheaded, the bishops, almost to the last moment, did not know but that their system would be overthrown. On

* Calderwood, Hist. of Church of Scotland.

† King James's Works. He afterwards said to his English bishops and courtiers—"I will tell you. I have lived among this sort of men (Puritans or Presbyterians) ever since I was ten years old; but I may say of myself, *as Christ said of himself*, though I lived among them, yet, since I had ability to judge, I was never of them."

the 14th of January, 1604, James held his first field-day in his privy chamber at Hampton Court. On the one side were arrayed nearly twenty bishops and high dignitaries of the established church, the lords of the privy council, and sundry courtiers, all determined to applaud to the skies the royal wisdom and learning: on the other side were only four reforming preachers—Doctors Reynolds and Sparks, professors of divinity at Oxford; and Knewstubs and Chatterton of Cambridge: the king sate high above them all "proudly pre-eminent," as moderator. On the first day the learned doctors did not enter upon the real controversy, but, after a day's rest, they met again on the 16th, when the Puritans proceeded roundly to business, beginning by demanding, among other things, that the Book of Common Prayer should be revised; that the cap and surplice, the sign of the cross in baptism, baptism by women, confirmation, the use of the ring in marriage, the reading of the Apocrypha, the bowing at the name of Jesus, should all be set aside; that non-residence and pluralities in the church should not be suffered, nor the commendams held by the bishops; that unnecessary excommunications should cease, as also the obligation of subscribing to the Thirty-Nine Articles. The bishops chose to make their chief stand upon the ceremonies, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Articles: and London and Winchester, assisted by some of the deans, spoke vehemently and at great length. Then, without listening to the four Puritans, James himself took up the argument, and combated for the Anglican orthodoxy, in a mixed strain of pedantry, solemnity, levity, and buffoonery. He talked of baptism, public and private, of confirmation, of marriage, of excommunication, and absolution. But, as it has been remarked, it would be endless to relate all he said, for he loved speaking, and was in his element whilst disputing. In the heat of his argument he treated St. Jerome very disrespectfully, for saying that bishops were not by divine ordination, closing his speech with this short aphorism:—"No bishop, no king." When he was tired, Dr. Reynolds was allowed to talk a little. The doctor

stated his objections to the Apocrypha, which was ordered to be read by the Book of Common Prayer, and particularly to the book of Ecclesiasticus. James called for a Bible, expounded a chapter of Ecclesiasticus in his own way, and then turning to his applauding lords, said, "What trow ye make these men so angry with Ecclesiasticus? By my soul, I think Ecclesiasticus was a bishop, or they would never use him so." The bishops smiled decorously—the courtiers grinned. In answer to a question started by the abashed and browbeaten Puritans—How far an ordinance of the church could bind without impeaching Christian liberty? he said "he would not argue that point, but answer therein as kings are wont to do in parliament, *le roy s'avisera*, adding withal, that the query smelt very rankly of Anabaptism." And then he told a story about Mr. John Black, a Scottish preacher, who had impudently told him that matters of ceremony in the church ought to be left in Christian liberty to every man. "But," added James, "I will none of that; I will have one doctrine and one discipline —one religion in substance and in ceremony." "If," he said, "you aim at a Scottish Presbytery, it agreeth with monarchy as God with the devil." Reynolds was esteemed one of the acutest logicians and most learned divines then in the kingdom, but James treated him in this manner:—"Well, Doctor, have you anything more to say?" The Doctor, who had been constantly interrupted and insulted, replied, "No, please your majesty." Then the king told him, that if he and his fellows had disputed thus lamely in a college, and he, the king, been moderator, he would have had them fetched up and flogged for dunces; that, if this was all they could say for themselves, he would have them conform, or hurry them out of the land, or else do worse.

On the morrow of this glorious day James rested from his labours. On the morning of the 18th he again assembled the bishops, and deans, and lords of the council; but the dissenting divines were not admitted till a late hour, and then not to renew the disputation, but only to implore that conformity should not be enforced

till after a certain interval. James granted their request, dismissed them, and gloried in the victory he had obtained. The bishops and courtly ministers had not waited for the *finale* to shower down their plaudits. Bancroft, bishop of London, throwing himself on his knees in a paroxysm of gratitude and adoration, had protested during one of the acts, "that his heart melted with joy, and made haste to acknowledge unto Almighty God the singular mercy in giving them such a king, as, since Christ's time, the like had not been."* Whitgift, the primate, without falling upon his knees, exclaimed, that undoubtedly his majesty spake by the special assistance of God's spirit. And that the laity might not be left all behind, the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere said, that the king and the priest had never been so wonderfully united in the same person!† This was pretty well! but not the most grateful of bishops, nor the most servile of courtiers, could praise James more than James praised himself. "I peppered them soundly," said he; "they fled me from argument to argument like schoolboys." And he soon after wrote a most conceited letter to one Blake, boasting of his own superior logic and learning. In his wisdom, however, and of his own prerogative, without consulting either the bishops or parliament, he thought proper to make a few slight alterations in the Book of Common Prayer and the church service; but this step irritated or afflicted the high churchmen, without reconciling any of their opponents to their discipline. Shortly after the conference he put forth a proclamation commanding all ecclesiastical and civil officers strictly to

* Bancroft had been on his knees before, to beseech his majesty "to stop the mouth of a schismatic."

† "The king talked much Latin, and disputed with Dr. Reynolds at Hampton; but he rather used upbraidings than arguments, and told the petitioners that they wanted to strip Christ again; and bid them away with their snivelling. . . . . The bishops seemed much pleased, and said his majesty spoke by the power of inspiration. I wis not what they mean; but the spirit was rather foul-mouthed."—*Harrington, Nugæ Ant.*

enforce conformity, and admonishing all men not to expect nor attempt any further alteration in the church.*

But the king loved hunting as much as he loved polemics, and a proclamation was devised, that none should come to him on hunting days—which days of sport occupied one half of James's year! He had already enjoined the bishops to proceed against all their clergy who did not conform and observe his orders. Whitgift died —some said of mortification at the king's interference— and Bancroft, who succeeded him in the primacy, wanted no royal spur to urge him on in the paths of persecution and severity. Three hundred clergymen were driven from their livings to poverty—some to wander in foreign countries, some to suffer with their wives and children absolute want at home. Ten leading men of those who had presented the millenary petition were arrested; the judges declared, in the Star Chamber, that theirs was an offence fineable at discretion and very near to treason and felony; and they were all committed to prison. Spies, such as had been trained to the work in hunting down papists and private masses, found their way to prayer-meetings and secret conventicles; and the gaols of the kingdom soon began to be crowded with unlicensed preachers.

It was scarcely to be expected, notwithstanding their great loss of spirit, that James would face an English parliament so bravely as a few intimidated preachers. The pestilence was for many months a sufficient reason for not calling one; and his first parliament was not assembled till the 19th of March, 1604, or until he had been nearly a year on the throne. There were probably few people in England, or anywhere else, that had taken the pains to read his pedantic writings; but those who had done so must have known that he had expressed the greatest contempt for all parliaments. In

* Fuller, Church Hist.—Howell, State Trials.—Barlow (Bishop of Chichester), in Phœnix Britannicus.—Rymer.—Winwood.—Harrington, Nug. Ant.—Hearne, Titus Livius. Calderwood.—Neale, Hist. Puritans.

his discourse 'On the True Law of Free Monarchies, or the Reciproque and Mutual Duty betwixt a free King and his Natural Subjects,' which had been printed in Scotland some years before, he had stated in the broadest terms, that the duty of a king was to command —that of a subject to obey in all things; that kings reigned by divine right, and were raised by the Almighty above all law; that a sovereign might daily make statutes and ordinances, and inflict such punishments as he thought meet, without any advice of parliament or estates. Even in his proclamation for calling together this, his first parliament, he studiously put forth his lofty notions about the prerogative, and schooled his subjects as to the representatives whom they were to choose. But, in spite of king and proclamation, this parliament swarmed with Puritans, who had naturally more courage and confidence than their four baited preachers at Hampton Court. Indeed, the Commons met him on their threshold with a debate about privilege; and, in the course of the session, he was vexed by other demonstrations.* The Commons instituted an inquiry into monopolies, which, in spite of James's proclamation, seem to have flourished as much as, or more than, ever. They also attacked the monstrous abuses of purveyance, and the incidents of feudal tenure, by which, among other things, the king became guardian to wards, and received the proceeds of their estates till they came of age, without accounting for the

* At their first meeting, the Commons, who were fully aware of James's high pretensions, took care to tell him, by the mouth of their Speaker, that he could not be a law-giver by himself,—"that new laws could not be instituted, nor imperfect laws reformed, nor inconvenient laws abrogated, by any other power than that of the high court of parliament, —that is, by the agreement of the commons, the accord of the lords, and the assent of the sovereign." And at the end of the session they told him,—"Your majesty would be misinformed if any man should deliver that the kings of England have any absolute power in themselves either to alter religion, or make any laws concerning the same, otherwise than as in temporal causes, by consent of parliament."

money. The commons asserted that, notwithstanding the six and thirty statutes which had been made to check the evil, the practice of purveyance was enforced by the Board of Green Cloth, who punished and imprisoned on their own warrant; that the royal purveyors did what they list in the country, seizing carts, carriages, horses, and provisions; felling trees without the owners' consent, and exacting labour from the people, which they paid for very badly, or not at all. On the subject of wardships, they were equally cogent, and the disgust at this lucrative tyranny was increased by the popular belief that Cecil derived a good part of his enormous income from this particular branch of the prerogative. This grievance, with others, was referred to a committee, in which the rising Francis Bacon played a conspicuous part, trying to unite the opposite characters of a patriot and courtier, a reformer and sycophant. Speaking before the king in council, he said that the king's was the voice of God in man,—the good spirit of God in the mouth of man. But in the House of Commons he could speak boldly of the abuses of government and the sufferings of the people. The Lords refused to go with the Commons, and, in the end, and by their advice, the matter was dropped as premature, and somewhat unseasonable in the king's first parliament. None of the other proposed reforms were carried, or even pushed; but as the court did not seem inclined to yield anything, the Commons resolved not to be over generous with the people's money. They passed the usual bill, granting tonnage and poundage for the king's life, and there they stopped, without hinting at any further supplies. The Commons, having a fearful eye to a relapse into popery, urgently pressed for execution of the penal statutes against Catholics. As the bishops, into whose arms James had thrown himself, united with the Puritans in these demands, no opposition was encountered, and the rivalry of the two divisions of Protestants increased the severity of the existing laws. On the 7th of July the parliament was prorogued.

Meanwhile the new king spent most of his time in

hunting, his love of field-sports increasing with his means of gratifying it. Whitehall, London, the scenes of business and ceremony, were all deserted for Royston and Newmarket. The affairs of the state might wait, but James would not lose his sport. Men first wondered, and then began to complain and satirise. Except the Earl of Worcester, none of the council,—no, not a clerk of the council nor privy signet,—was with his majesty the while. A little later, Matthew Hutton, archbishop of York, in writing to Cecil, then Lord Cranborne, against papists and recusants, took the liberty to offer some advice about the king's long absences. "I confess," says the prelate, "that I am not to deal in state matters, yet, as one that honoureth and loveth his most excellent majesty with all my heart, I wish less wasting of the treasure of the realm, and more moderation in the lawful exercise of hunting, both that poor men's corn may be less spoiled and other his majesty's subjects more spared."* But sport was not to be interrupted, and so his majesty went from Royston to Newmarket, to hunt there, and then from Newmarket to hunt at Thetford. Whither he would have gone hunting after this is not known; but, in the month of March, Worcester entreated Sir James Hay not to urge the king any further, and Hay considerately promised that he would not. During these ambulatory proceedings the Puritan ministers, whom the new primate, Bancroft, (quaintly described as "a man of a rough temper and a stout foot-ball player,"†) had been active in expelling from their livings in the church, gave James some disturbance by waiting upon him to present petitions, and their party caused him further trouble by writing and printing certain letters. Against the authors of these papers, and against others who had ventured to remonstrate, James let loose Cecil, whom he was accustomed to call his "little beagle." Upon quitting the sports of the field his serious attention was devoted to solve the problem, whether a man (one Richard Haddock) could preach good sermons and speak exceeding good Hebrew

* Lodge, Illustrations. † Coke, Detection.

and Greek in his sleep, being, when awake, no divine, and ignorant of both those learned languages.

The Catholics, who had expected toleration or an approach to it, were enraged at the increased severity of the laws directed against them; and some of them were absolutely maddened by the persecutions they suffered, and by the heavy fines they were constantly called upon to pay. Among the sufferers there was one capable of the most daring deeds. This was Robert Catesby, a gentleman of an ancient family and of a good estate. He had engaged in the rash business of the Earl of Essex, who had promised *liberty of conscience;* he had intrigued with the court of France, and with the Spanish court; but, at last, seeing no hopes of assistance from those quarters, he conceived the project of destroying, at one blow, King, Lords, and Commons. Horrible and desperate as was the plot, he soon found a few spirits as furious as his own to join in it. The first person to whom he opened his design was Thomas Winter, a gentleman of Worcestershire. This man was, at first, overcome with horror, and, though Catesby removed his repugnance by drawing the most frightful picture of the sufferings of their co-religionists, he would not agree to the mighty murder till they had solicited the mediation of the King of Spain, who was then negotiating with James. Winter passed over to the Netherlands, where he soon learned from the Spanish ambassador that his court could not get a clause of toleration inserted in the English treaty. At this moment, when he had made up his mind to co-operate with Catesby, he accidentally encountered, in the town of Ostend, another soldier of fortune, an old fellow-traveller and associate. This was Guy, or Guido, Fawkes, whom (knowing him to be the most daring of men) he carried over to England. Fawkes did not come for pay. It has been customary to represent him as a low, mercenary ruffian, but it appears, on the contrary, that he was a pure fanatic, and as much a gentleman as the others. Before Winter and Fawkes had been many days with Catesby in London, they were joined by two

other conspirators, Thomas Percy, a distant relation and steward to the Earl of Northumberland, and John Wright, Percy's brother-in-law, who was reputed the best swordsman in all England. Percy, during Elizabeth's time, had visited Edinburgh, where James, to secure what influence he could command, had promised "to tolerate mass in a corner." He was now furious at the king's broken promises. They all met at Catesby's lodgings. "Well, gentlemen," cried Percy, "shall we always talk and never do?" Catesby said that, before opening the particulars of his scheme, they must all take a solemn oath of secrecy. The condition was accepted by all, and, a few days afterwards, they met at a lonely house, in the fields, beyond St. Clement's Inn. "You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the sacrament you now propose to receive, never to disclose directly or indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to keep secret, nor desist from the execution thereof until the rest shall give you leave." Such was the form of the oath which was taken, on their knees, by Catesby, Percy, Thomas Winter, John Wright, and Fawkes; and immediately after they had taken the oath, Catesby explained that his purpose was to blow up the Parliament House with gunpowder the next time the king should go to the House of Lords. He then led them all to an upper room in the same lone house, where they heard mass, and received the sacrament from Father Gerard, a Jesuit missionary, who, it is said, was not admitted into the horrid secret. Percy's zeal was unabated, and an office he held about the court (he was a gentleman pensioner) gave him facilities which the others did not possess. Their first object was to secure a house adjoining the parliament building. As Percy, by his office, was obliged to live during a part of the year near to Whitehall, there would appear nothing strange in his taking a lodging in that quarter. After some search they found a house held by one Ferris, as tenant to Whinneard, the keeper of the king's wardrobe, which seemed adapted to their purpose. This Percy hired in

his own name, by a written agreement with Ferris.* When they took possession they again swore to be faithful and secret. The back of the house, or an out-building, leaned against the very wall of the Parliament House. Here they resolved to commence operations by cutting away the wall in order to make a mine through it. It was an arduous task to gentlemen unaccustomed to manual labour; and before they could well begin, they learned that the king had prorogued parliament to the 7th of February, and upon this news they agreed to separate, and, after visiting their friends in the country, to meet again in November. In the interval they hired another house, situated on the Lambeth side of the river. Here they cautiously deposited wood, gunpowder, and other combustibles. The custody of the house at Lambeth was committed to Robert Kay, a Catholic gentleman in indigent circumstances, who took the oath and entered into the plot. When the chief conspirators met again in the capital, they found themselves debarred of the use of their house at Westminster, for the court had thought fit to accommodate therein the commissioners that were engaged on James's premature scheme for a union between England and Scotland.

While they were waiting impatiently for quiet possession of the premises, several circumstances occurred that were calculated to keep their deadly purpose alive. At the assizes held at Lancashire in the preceding summer, six seminary priests and Jesuits were tried, condemned, and executed, under the statute of the 27th of Elizabeth, for remaining within the realm. Mr. Pound, a Catholic gentleman then living in Lancashire, of an advanced age, who had suffered in Elizabeth's time, presented a petition to the king complaining generally of the persecution, and in particular of the recent proceedings. He was immediately seized and carried before the privy council, and, after an examination, committed to the tender mercies of the Star Chamber. In that tribunal, on the 29th of

* The original agreement, dated May 24, 1604, may be seen in the State Paper Office.

November, the poor old gentleman, unaided and alone, was assailed by Coke the attorney-general, Chief Justice Popham, Chancellor Egerton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, Cecil, and several other judges and members of the privy council. Among them they sentenced Mr. Pound to be imprisoned in the Fleet during the king's pleasure, to stand in the pillory both at Lancaster and Westminster, and to pay a fine of one thousand pounds: nay, they were near doing worse, for an infamous proposition to nail the old man to the pillory, and cut off his ears, was negatived by a majority of only one or two. After this iniquitous sentence there was an increased activity in hunting for priests and levying fines on the recusants; and yet the zealots cried that this was not enough, and that the sword of the law ought to be sharpened at the next meeting of parliament.

At last, on a dark December night, Catesby and his confederates entered the house at Westminster, and commenced operations, having previously laid in a store of hard eggs, dried meats, pasties, and such provisions as would keep, in order to avoid suspicion by going or sending abroad for food. They presently found that the wall to be penetrated was of tremendous thickness, and that more hands would be required to do the work. Kay was therefore brought over from the house at Lambeth, and the party was further reinforced by the enlisting of Christopher Wright, a younger brother of John Wright, who was already in the plot. Now, in all, they were seven. "All which seven," said Fawkes on his examination, "were gentlemen of name and blood; and not any was employed in or about this action (no, not so much as in digging and mining) that was not a gentleman. And while the others wrought I stood as sentinel to descry any man that came near; and when any man came near to the place, upon warning given by me, they ceased until they had again notice from me to proceed; and we seven lay in the house, and had shot and powder, and we all resolved to die in that place before we yielded or were taken." They lightened, or, it may be, sometimes burthened, their heavy toil with discussions of future plans.

Horses and armour were to be collected in Warwickshire. They resolved if possible to save all members of the two houses that were Catholics, but they could not agree as to the safest mode of doing this. The notion of applying to the Catholics abroad and the pope was discarded as useless and unsafe. They were working hard to cut their way through the stubborn wall, when Fawkes brought intelligence that the king, who had no great desire to meet that body again, had further prorogued parliament from the 7th of February to the 3rd of October. Hereupon they agreed to separate till after the Christmas holidays.

A.D. 1605.—In the month of January, Catesby, being at Oxford, admitted two other conspirators. One of these was John Grant, an accomplished but moody gentleman of Warwickshire, who possessed at Norbrook, between the towns of Warwick and Stratford-on-Avon, a large and strong mansion-house, walled round and moated, which seemed the best possible place for the reception of horses and ammunition. Lamentation and grief had been carried within those walls in Elizabeth's time, and Grant's melancholy disposition took its rise from the persecution he had endured. The other was Robert Winter, the eldest brother of Thomas Winter, who was already engaged, and one of whose sisters was wife to Grant of Norbrook. Shortly after, Catesby, suspecting that his servant Thomas Bates had an inkling of the plot, thought it prudent to make him a full accomplice, and bind him by the oath of secrecy. About the beginning of February they all met in the house at Westminster, and resumed their painful toils. Their ears were acutely sensible to the least sound, their hearts susceptible of supernatural dread. They heard, or fancied they heard, the tolling of a bell deep in the earth under the Parliament House, and the noise was stopped by aspersions of holy water. But, one morning, while working in their mine, they heard a loud rumbling noise nearly over their heads. There was a pause,—a fear that they had been discovered; but Fawkes soon brought intelligence that it was nothing but one Bright who was

selling off his stock of coals, intending to remove his business from a cellar under the Parliament House to some other place. This opportunity seemed miraculous: the cellar was immediately below the House of Lords; the wall of separation was not yet cut through, and doubts were entertained whether they should be able to complete the work without discovery. Percy hired the cellar of the dealer in coals: the mine was abandoned, and they began to remove thirty-six barrels of gunpowder from the house at Lambeth on the opposite bank of the river. They threw large stones and bars of iron among the powder to make the breach the greater, and they carefully covered over the whole with fagots and billets of wood. All this was completed by the month of May, when they once more separated. Fawkes was despatched into Spanish Flanders to win over Sir William Stanley and Captain Owen, who held military commands there, and who were supposed capable of collecting a good number of men, either English Catholics or foreigners. Fawkes returned in August, having succeeded no further than to obtain a promise from Owen that he would communicate with Stanley, who was at that time absent in Spain. In September, Sir Edmund Baynham, a gentleman of an ancient family in Gloucestershire, was admitted into the whole, or part of the plot, and despatched to Rome, not to reveal the project, but to endeavour to gain the favour of the Vatican when the blow should be struck. The rest remained in anxious expectation of the day,—it was near at hand,—when the king still further prorogued the parliament from the 3rd of October to the 5th of November. The conspirators thought that they were suspected. Thomas Winter undertook to go into the house on the day on which prorogation was to be made, and observe the countenances and behaviour of the lords commissioners. He found all tranquil: the commissioners were walking about and conversing in the House of Lords, just over the thirty-six barrels of gunpowder: he returned and told his companions that their secret was safe. About Michaelmas it was agreed to admit three more Catholic gentlemen, who were known to have a

command of ready money, into the plot. The first of these was Sir Everard Digby, of Drystoke, in Rutlandshire, an enthusiastic young man, and a bosom friend of Catesby. Digby had immense estates, a young wife, and two infant children; but, after some struggle with his domestic feelings and conscience, he yielded to Catesby, promised to furnish fifteen hundred pounds for furthering the plot, and to collect his Catholic friends on Dunsmore Heath in Warwickshire, by the 5th of November, as if for a hunting party. The second was Ambrose Rookwood, of Coldham Hall, Suffolk, the head of a very ancient and opulent family. Like Digby, he had long been the bosom friend of Catesby; and his romantic attachment to that chief conspirator seems to have been a more leading passion than his religious fanaticism. He had a magnificent stud of horses, which made his accession very desirable. Like most of the others, he at first shuddered at the prospect of so much slaughter, but his scruples were quieted by Catesby; and, to be near the general rendezvous at Dunsmore, he removed with his family to Clopton, near Stratford-on-Avon. He had suffered fines and persecutions, but he was still wealthy, and, until entering the gunpowder treason, a peaceful, happy man. The third accession was in Francis Tresham, eldest son and heir of Sir Thomas Tresham, who had recently succeeded his father in a large estate in Northamptonshire. Sir Thomas had felt the vengeance of the penal laws: in his own words, he had undergone "full twenty years of restless adversity and deep disgrace, only for testimony of his conscience." His son Francis had been engaged very actively with the Earl of Essex, and was only saved from the block by his father's bribing *a great lady* and some people about the court with several thousand pounds: yet, after that narrow escape, Francis Tresham had had his hand in several plots. It appears, however, that he did not enjoy the confidence of the desperate men with whom he had been engaged, and that he passed for a fickle, mean-spirited man: but he was Catesby's near relation, and he had money, whereof (after taking the oath) he engaged to furnish

two thousand pounds. But, from the moment Tresham was admitted, Catesby became a prey to misgivings and alarms.

As the great day—the 5th of November—approached, the conspirators had several secret consultations at White Webbs, a house near Enfield Chase, then a wild, solitary place.* Here it was resolved that Fawkes should fire the mine by means of a slow-burning match, which would allow him time to escape before the explosion of the gunpowder (there was a ship, hired with Tresham's money, lying in the Thames, and in this Guido was to embark and to proceed to Flanders); that, after the catastrophe, the Princess Elizabeth, in case of their losing the Prince of Wales and Prince Charles, was to be immediately proclaimed queen, and a regent appointed during her minority. But now they felt the difficulty there would be in warning and saving their friends, and most of them had dear friends and relations in parliament. In the Upper House, for example, the Lords Stourton and Mounteagle, both Catholics, had married sisters of Francis Tresham, and Tresham was exceeding earnest that they should have some warning given them, in order to keep away from parliament. Percy also was eager to save his relative the Earl of Northumberland; and Kay, or Keyes, the decayed gentleman who had had charge of the house at Lambeth, was equally anxious to save his friend and patron, Lord Mordaunt, who had given food and shelter to his wife and children. There were others whose fate excited the liveliest interest; and all of them were desirous of warning the youthful Earl of Arundel. But Catesby undertook to prove to them that most of the Catholics would be absent, seeing that their presence would be useless, as they could not prevent the passing of new penal laws against their religion. "But," said Catesby, "with all that, rather than the project should not take effect, if they were as dear unto me as mine own son, they also must be blown up."

* There was another lone house which they frequented, at Erith, on the right bank of the Thames, a little below Woolwich.

A day or two after, Tresham suddenly and unexpectedly came upon Catesby, Thomas Winter, and Fawkes, at Enfield Chase, and once more required that warning should be given directly to his brother-in-law Mounteagle. Catesby and his two determined comrades hesitated; and, then, it is said that Tresham told them that, as he could not furnish the money he had promised for some time to come, it would be much better for them to defer the execution of the plot till the closing of parliament, and pass the interval safely in Flanders. Catesby, Thomas Winter, and Fawkes remained fixed to their purpose. Here the dark story becomes doubly dark and doubtful; but it should seem that Tresham went away and warned *more persons* than Lord Mounteagle. There is also ground for believing that Sir Everard Digby and some others of the conspirators put their particular friends on their guard, though they may have adopted a different method, and one not likely to reveal the secret. The Lord Mounteagle had a mansion at Hoxton which he seldom visited; but, on the 26th of October, ten days before the intended meeting of parliament, he most unexpectedly ordered a supper to be prepared in that house. As he was sitting at table, about seven o'clock in the evening, his page presented to him a letter, which he said he had just received from a tall man, who had departed, and whose features he could not recognise in the dark. His lordship, still sitting at table, opened the letter, and, seeing that it had neither date nor signature, he tossed it to a gentleman in his service, desiring him to read it aloud. The gentleman read:—

"my lord out of the love i beare to some of youer frends i have a caer of youer preservacion therefor i would advyse yowe as yowe tender youer lyf to devyse some exscuse to shift of youer attendance at this parleament for god & man hathe concurred to punish the wickednes of this tyme & thinke not slightlye of this advertisment but retyere youre self into youre contrie wheare yowe maye expect the event in safti for thowghe theare be no apparance of anni stir yet i saye they shall receyve a terrible blowe this parleament & yet they shall not

scie who hurts them this councel is not to be contemned because it maye do yowe good and can do yowe no harme for the dangere is passed as soon as yowe have burnt the letter and i hope god will give yowe the grace to make good use of it to whose holy proteccion i commend yowe."

The authorship of this letter has been attributed to several persons, to women as well as to men, but it seems to us all but certain that it was really written by, or under the dictation of, Tresham. Lord Mounteagle, who, notwithstanding his religion, was on good terms with the court and council (he had recently received an important favour from the king), carried the letter the same evening to Whitehall, and showed it to Cecil and several of the ministers. The king was away, "hunting the fearful hare at Royston," and Cecil resolved that nothing should be done until his return. On the following morning Mounteagle's gentleman, who had read the letter at the supper-table, warned Thomas Winter that it had been delivered to Cecil. Winter carried this alarming intelligence to Catesby, who instantly suspected the indiscretion or treachery of Tresham. This suspicion was the stronger, from the circumstance that Tresham had absented himself for several days, having caused it to be given out that he had gone into Northamptonshire. Nothing, however, occurred to show that government had caught the clue; and, on the 30th of October, Tresham not only returned to town, but attended the summons of Catesby and Winter. The three conspirators met on that same day in Enfield Chase. Catesby and Winter directly charged Tresham with having written the letter to Mounteagle; and, while they accused him and he defended himself, they fixed their searching eyes on his countenance. It was clear and firm; his voice faltered not: he swore the most solemn oaths that he was ignorant of the letter; and they let him go. If he had betrayed any signs of fear or confusion, their desperate minds were made up to stab him to the heart where he stood. They then returned to London, and sent Fawkes, who knew nothing of the letter, to see if all was right in the cellar. He presently reported that the barrels of

powder and the other things were just as they had been left. Then Catesby and Winter told him of the letter, and excused themselves for having placed him in such danger without a warning. Fawkes coolly said that he should have gone just as readily if he had known all, and he undertook to return to the cellar once every day till the 5th of November. By certain marks which he had put behind the door, he was quite sure that no one could enter without his knowledge.

On the 31st of October James arrived from Royston, and on the next day Cecil put the letter into his hands, informing him of the curious circumstances of its delivery. According to the story generally received, it was James's wonderful sagacity and penetration that first discovered the meaning of the mysterious epistle, but it is proved beyond a doubt that both Cecil and Suffolk, the lord chamberlain, had read the riddle several days before, and had communicated it to several lords of the council before the subject was mentioned to the king.* But as this was an opportunity of flattering James on the qualities in which he most prided himself, the courtly ministers proclaimed to the public that all the merit of the discovery was his. Coke, upon the trial of the conspirators, declared that his majesty had made it through a divine illumination. It appears to have been the advice of Cecil that nothing should be done to interrupt "the devilish practice" till the night before the king went to the House. On Sunday, the 3rd of November, the conspirators were warned by Lord Mounteagle's gentleman that the king had seen the letter and made great account of it. Upon this Thomas Winter sought another interview with Tresham, and they met that same evening in Lincoln's-Inn Walk. Tresham spoke like a man beside himself; and said that, to his certain knowledge, they were all lost men unless they saved themselves by instant flight. But these infatuated men would not flee, nor did Tresham himself either flee or seek concealment. Catesby, Win-

* See letter of the Earl of Salisbury (Cecil) to Sir Charles Cornwallis, in Winwood's Memorials.

ter, and all the rest, were now convinced that Tresham was in communication with Mounteagle, and perhaps with Cecil. Percy insisted that they ought to see what the following day—the last day of anxiety and doubt—would bring forth, before they thought of other measures. Their vessel still lay in the Thames ready to slip its cable at a moment's notice. It was, however, resolved that Catesby and John Wright should ride off, on the following afternoon, to join Sir Everard Digby, at Dunchurch. That very night, in spite of all their suspicions, Fawkes, with undaunted courage, went to keep watch in the cellar.

On Monday afternoon Suffolk, the lord chamberlain, whose duty it was to see that all arrangements for the meeting of parliament were properly made, went down to the House accompanied by Lord Mounetagle. After passing some time in the Parliament Chamber, they descended to the vaults and cellars, pretending that some of the king's stuffs were missing. They threw open the door of the powder-cellar, and there they saw standing in a corner, "a very tall and desperate fellow." It was Guido Fawkes, whose wonderful nerves were proof even to this trial. The chamberlain, with affected carelessness, asked him who he was? He said that he was servant to Mr. Percy, and looking after his master's coals. "Your master," said the courtier, "has laid in a good stock of fuel;" and, without adding anything else, he and Mounteagle left the cellar. When they were gone their way Fawkes hurried to acquaint Percy with their visit, and then returned to the cellar, resolute to the last, hoping against hope! At about two o'clock in the morning (it was now the fifth of November) Fawkes undid the door of the cellar, and came forth, booted and spurred, to look about him. At that instant, and before he could move back, he was seized and pinioned by a party of soldiers under the command of Sir Thomas Knevett, a magistrate of Westminster. If the desperado had only had time to light a match they would all have been blown into the air together. When they had bound him hand and foot, they searched his person and found a watch

(which was not common then), some touchwood and tinder, and some slow matches. Within the cellar and behind the door was found a dark lantern with a light burning in it. The prisoner was carried to Whitehall, and there, in the royal bed-chamber, he was interrogated by the king and council, who seem to have been afraid of him, bound and helpless as he was, for his voice was still bold, his countenance unchanged, and he returned with scorn and defiance their inquisitive glances. His name, he said, was John Johnson—his condition that of a servant to Mr. Thomas Percy. He boldly avowed his purpose, and said he was sorry it was not done. When pressed to disclose who were his accomplices, he replied that he could not resolve to accuse any. The king asked how he could have the heart to destroy his children and so many innocent souls that must have suffered? "Dangerous diseases," said Fawkes, "require desperate remedies." One of the Scottish courtiers inquired why he had collected so many barrels of gunpowder? "One of my objects," said the conspirator, "was to blow Scotchmen back into Scotland." In the morning of the 6th of November he was removed to the Tower, James sending instructions with him that he was to be put through all the grades of torture in order to elicit confession.* For three or four days he would confess nothing (it appears that he was not severely tortured till the 10th); but his accomplices declared themselves by flying and taking up arms,—that is, all of them except Tresham, who remained in London at his usual place of abode, showed himself openly in the street, and even went to the council to offer his services in apprehending the rebels. Catesby and John Wright had departed for Dunchurch the preceding evening; Percy and Christopher Wright waited till they learned Fawkes's arrest; and Rookwood and Keyes, who were little known in London, determined to remain to see what would follow.

* "The gentler tortures are to be first used unto him, *et sic per gradus ad ima tendatur*, and so God speed you in your good work."—Instructions, Nov. 6, in the State Paper Office.

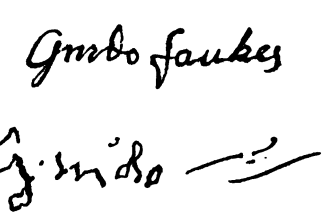
In the morning when they went abroad they found that all was known, and that horror and amazement were expressed in every countenance. Keyes then left London: but Rookwood, who had placed relays of his fine horses all the way to Dunchurch, lingered to the last moment, in the hope of collecting more intelligence. It was near the hour of noon when he took horse; but, once mounted, he rode with desperate haste. He soon put the hill of Highgate between him and the capital: he spurred across Finchley Common, where he overtook Keyes, who kept him company as far as Turvey in Bedfordshire. From that point Rookwood galloped on to Brickhill, where he overtook Catesby and John Wright. Soon afterwards they came up with Percy and Christopher Wright, and then all five rode together with headlong speed, some of them throwing their cloaks into the hedge to ride the lighter, till they came to Ashby St. Legers, in Northamptonshire, at six o'clock in the evening. The distance from London was eighty miles, which Rookwood had ridden in little more than six hours. If they had chosen to ride on to some seaport they might certainly have escaped with their lives; but they had no such design. Some of the hunting party, with whom was Winter, a principal conspirator, had taken up their quarters for the night in the house of Lady Catesby, at Ashby St. Legers, and were sitting down to supper when Rookwood, Percy, and the others from London, entered the apartment, covered with dirt, and half dead with fatigue. Their story was soon told; and then the whole party, taking with them all the arms they could find, mounted and rode off to Dunchurch. There they found Sir Everard Digby surrounded by many guests, Catholic gentlemen invited to hunt on Dunsmore, but fully aware that the meeting had reference to some avenging blow to be struck in London, though only a few of them had been admitted into the whole of the secret. But these guests presently perceived that the main plotters had miscarried, and so, without standing on the order of their going, they stole away in the course of the night; and when day dawned, Digby, Catesby, Percy, Rookwood, and the

rest, were left alone, with a few servants and retainers. Catesby knew the number of Catholics living in Wales and the adjoining counties, and he suggested that if they made a rapid march in that direction they might raise a formidable insurrection. They got again to their horses, rode through Warwick, where they seized some cavalry horses, leaving their own tired steeds in their place, and then went to Grant's house at Norbrook, where, it appears, they were joined by a few servants, and procured some arms. They then rode across Warwickshire and Worcestershire, to a house belonging to Stephen Littleton, called Holbeach, on the borders of Staffordshire, where they arrived on Thursday night the 7th of November. On their way they had called upon the Catholics to arm and follow them; "but not one man," said Sir Everard Digby, "came to take our part, though we had expected so many."

By this time the conspirators were closely followed by Sir Richard Walsh, sheriff of Worcester, attended by many gentlemen of the country and the whole *posse comitatus*. Although the road was open towards Wales, they resolved to stand at bay, and defend themselves in the house of Holbeach. If their people had remained firm, they might possibly have repulsed the tumultuary assault of the sheriff, but these serving-men stole away during the night. Early on the following morning Stephen Littleton, who had been admitted into the whole plot, got out of the house, and fled through fear; and Sir Everard Digby went off, in order, as he said, to bring up succour. Sir Everard had scarcely got out of the house when some damp gunpowder which they were drying before a fire ignited and blew up with a tremendous explosion. Catesby was burnt and blackened and nearly killed, and two or three of the others were seriously injured. They now began to fear that God disapproved of their project; and Rookwood and others, "perceiving God to be against them, prayed before the picture of our Lady, and confessed that the act was so bloody as they desired God to forgive them." Robert Winter, filled with horror and affright, stole out of the

house, and came up with Stephen Littleton in a wood hard by, and shortly after his evasion Catesby's servant, Thomas Bates, escaped in the same manner. About the hour of noon Sir Richard Walsh surrounded the mansion, and summoned the rebels to lay down their arms. A successful resistance was now hopeless; but, preferring to die where they stood, to suffering the horrid death prescribed by the laws, they refused to surrender, and defied their numerous assailants. Upon this, the sheriff ordered one part of his company to set fire to the house, and another to make an attack on the gates of the court-yard. The conspirators, with nothing but their swords in their hands, presented themselves as marks to be shot at. Thomas Winter was presently hit in the right arm and disabled. "Stand by me, Tom," cried Catesby, "and we will die together." And presently, as they were standing back to back, they were both shot through the body with two bullets from one musket. Catesby crawled into the house upon his hands and knees, and, seizing an image of the Virgin which stood in the vestibule, clasped it to his bosom, and expired. Two other merciful shots despatched the two brothers, John and Christopher Wright, and another wounded Percy so badly that he died the next day. Rookwood, who had been severely hurt in the morning, by the explosion of the powder, was wounded in the body with a pike, and had his arm broken by a bullet. At a rush he was made prisoner, and the other men, wounded and disarmed, were seized within the house. Sir Everard Digby was overtaken near Dudley by the hue-and-cry, and made fast. Stephen Littleton and Robert Winter were betrayed several days after by a servant of Mrs. Littleton of Hagley, in whose house they had been secreted. Thomas Bates, Catesby's servant, was arrested in Staffordshire; Keyes in Warwickshire. They were all carried up to London, and lodged in the Tower. Tresham, who had never left London, and who appears to have been confident of his own safety, was arrested and committed to the Tower on the 12th of November, or four days after the death or seizure of his associates at Holbeach.

Guido Fawkes, in the mean while, had been repeatedly examined, not only by lords commissioners named by the king, but also by the Lord Chief Justice Popham, Sir Edward Coke, and Sir William Wood, the lieutenant of the Tower. No promises, no threats, could shake his firmness, or disturb his self-possession. When urged with the argument that his denial of the names of his companions was useless, because by their flight they had been sufficiently discovered, he said, "If that be so, it would be superfluous for me to declare them, seeing by that circumstance they have named themselves." He confessed freely to all his own doing, said he was ready to die, and rather wished ten thousand deaths than to accuse Percy or any other. But he was told that Percy and several of his confederates were apprehended, and he was racked apparently beyond the limits of mortal endurance. On the 8th of November, before any violent torture was applied, he signed his name to a deposition with a bold, firm hand; but two days after his signature to a fuller statement, in which he names his accomplices, is in a faint and trembling hand, jagged and incomplete, bearing every appearance of being written in bodily agony. The Christian name (Guido) alone is completed, and after it there is a scrawl as if the pen had fallen from his hand.* This single incident tells a tale



The Autographs of GUIDO FAWKES, *before and after Torture.*

of horror. But it appears that Fawkes never put the go-

* Jardine, Criminal Trials.

vernment in possession of a single secret with which they were not previously acquainted, and that he would, under no excruciating pain, impeach the Jesuits, some of whom were suspected, from the beginning, of being implicated in the plot. Thus his examiners were barbarous to no purpose. Bates, the servant of Catesby, was less able to go through the ordeal: he confessed whatever was wished, and was the first to implicate the Jesuits. Nor was Tresham much more firm than Bates; for, though he did not implicate the priests in the gunpowder treason, he confessed that Father Garnet and Father Greenway were both privy and party to a traitorous correspondence carried on about a year before the death of Elizabeth with the court of Spain by Catesby and others. Soon after his committal to the Tower, this wretched man, who appears to have been overreached by the government he saved, was attacked by an agonizing disease. In his extremity of weakness he was allowed the assistance of a confidential servant and the society of his wife. On the 22nd of December, at the close approach of death, he dictated to his servant a statement in which he most solemnly retracted all that he had confessed about Garnet and Greenway. This paper he signed, and made his man-servant and a female servant of the Tower put their hands to it as witnesses. In the course of the night he gave this statement to his wife, charging her to deliver it with her own hands to Cecil;* and he expired about two o'clock on the following morning. Catholic writers have ascribed his death to foul play at the hands of government. This suspicion seems rather groundless, but there are reasons for believing that some state secrets respecting the disco-

* Tresham declared that he made the confession respecting Garnet "only to avoid ill usage" (that is, torture), and that he had not "seen Garnet for sixteen years before, nor never had letter nor message from him." Father Garnet himself, his friend Mrs. Anne Vaux, and other witnesses, subsequently agreed in declaring that Garnet had been with Tresham continually in various places until within a few days of the discovery of the gunpowder plot.

very of the plot were buried in the grave of the miserable man.

On the 15th of January, 1606, a royal proclamation was issued against Garnet, Greenway, and Gerrard, all three English Jesuits who had been lurking in the country for years. The trial of the surviving chief conspirators commenced on the 27th of January, having been delayed nearly two months, mainly in order to bring in the priests, and to get possession of the persons of Baldwin, a Jesuit, Owen, and Sir William Stanley, then residing in the Flemish dominions of the Spaniards, who refused to give them up. The prisoners, Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, Ambrose Rookwood, John Grant, Guido Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, with the single exception of Digby, who confessed the indictment, pleaded not guilty; not, as they observed, because they denied a full participation in the powder plot, but because the indictment contained many things to which they were strangers. The evidence produced consisted entirely of the written depositions of the prisoners and of a servant of Sir Everard Digby. No witness was orally examined. There was nothing developed on the trial to connect the conspiracy with many English Catholics beyond the actual plotters. Indeed, the papists in general regarded the whole affair with horror, and Sir Everard Digby pathetically lamented that the project, for which he had sacrificed everything he had in the world, was disapproved by Catholics and priests, and that the act which brought him to his death was considered by them to be a great sin. In general the principal conspirators again denied that either Garnet or any other Jesuit was aware of the project of the powder, though several allowed that they had frequent conference both with Garnet and Greenway. In extenuation, they pleaded the sufferings they and their families and friends had undergone,—the violated promises of the king, who before his accession had assured them of toleration,—their despair of any relief from the established government,—their dread of still harsher persecution,—and their natural desire to re-establish what they consi-

dered the only true church of Christ. They were all condemned to die the usual death of traitors, and sentence was executed to the letter—for this was not an occasion on which the government was likely to omit an iota of the torturing and bloody law. Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, John Grant, and Thomas Bates, suffered on the 30th of January; Thomas Winter, Rookwood, Keyes, and Guido Fawkes—"the Devil of the Vault"—on the next day: they all died courageously, repenting of their intention, but professing an unaltered attachment to the Roman church. The scene chosen for their exit was the west end of St. Paul's churchyard.

END OF VOL. IX.

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THE
CABINET
History
OF
England
VOL. X.

THE

CABINET

HISTORY OF ENGLAND;

BEING

AN ABRIDGMENT, BY THE AUTHOR,

OF THE CHAPTERS ENTITLED "CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY" IN "THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND," WITH A CONTINUATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY CHARLES MAC FARLANE.

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CABINET

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK VII.—*Continued.*

A.D. 1606—1660.

CHAPTER I.—*Continued.*

JAMES I.—*Continued.*

BEFORE Fawkes and the other conspirators were led to the scaffold, the Jesuit Garnet was on his way to the Tower, having been discovered hid in a secret chamber at Hendlip, near Worcester, the seat of Thomas Abingdon, who had married the sister of Lord Mounteagle.* The other two Jesuits, Gerard and Greenway, after many adventures, effected their escape to the continent. Garnet, who at some former time had been well known to Cecil, was treated in the Tower with comparative leniency; and, from an expression of regret used by a dignitary of the Protestant church, who afterwards became a bishop, we may presume that he was never laid upon the rack. But his companion Hall, or Oldcorn, another Jesuit, who was found in the same hiding-place at Hendlip, Garnet's confidential servant Owen, and another servant called Chambers, appear to have been tortured without mercy, as also without effect—for no one

* The finding of Garnet and his friend Hall, or Oldcorn, in the curious old mansion-house, is one of the most romantic incidents we are acquainted with. Mr. Jardine has given the full account.—See *Criminal Trials.*

of them would confess anything of importance against Garnet or any other Jesuit or priest. Owen, after undergoing the minor torments, in order to escape the rack, with which he was threatened on the next examination, tore open his bowels with a blunt knife, which he had obtained by a stratagem, and died true to his master. Whatever was the extent of Garnet's guilt, or of the moral obliquity which he derived from the crafty order to which he belonged, he was indisputably a man of extraordinary learning and ability: he baffled all the court lawyers and cunningest statesmen in twenty successive examinations. They could never get an advantage over him, nor drive him into a contradiction or an admission unfavourable to his case.* But in the congenial atmosphere of the Tower a certain craft had attained to the highest perfection; and there has scarcely been a device fancied by romance-writers, but was put into actual operation within those horrible walls. Some of the most revolting practices of the Inquisition may be traced in this English state prison. Garnet's keeper of a sudden pretended to be his friend,—to venerate him as a martyr; and he offered, at his own great hazard, to convey any letters the prisoner might choose to write to his friends. Garnet intrusted to him several letters, which were all carried to the council, as were also the answers to them; but so cautious was the Jesuit, that there was nothing in this correspondence to weigh against him. Failing in this experiment, the lieutenant of the Tower removed Hall, or Oldcorn, to a cell next to that of his friend Garnet, and they were both informed by the keeper, who recommended extreme caution and secrecy, that, by opening a concealed door, they might easily converse together. The temptation was irresistible, and both the

* Coke, in his speech on Garnet's trial, said he was one having "many excellent gifts and endowments of nature: by birth a gentleman, by education a scholar, by art learned, and a good linguist." The whole of this English Jesuit's history is interesting. At one time he gained his livelihood in London by correcting the press for Tottel, the celebrated printer.

Jesuits fell into the trap. Edward Forset, a man of some learning, and a magistrate, and Locherson, a secretary of Cecil's, who had tried his ears before at eaves-dropping, were placed in such a position between the two cells that they could overhear nearly every word the prisoners uttered; and as they conversed they took notes of all that was said. Their main subject was how they should arrange their defence. Garnet said that he must needs confess that he had been at White-Webbs, in Enfield Chase, with the conspirators, but that he would maintain that he had not been there since Bartholomew-tide. "And in truth," said he, "I am well persuaded that I shall wind myself out of this matter." On the following day the conversation was renewed, the eaves-droppers being at their post as before. Garnet said several things which went to connect him with the conspirators; and he told Hall that, at the next visitation of the commissioners, they must both "expect either to go to the rack, or to pass quietly with the rest." He also added, that he had heard that one James, or Johnson, *had been upon the rack for three hours.* In the third conversation, Hall, or Oldcorn, related how he had been examined, and what he had said. Garnet said, "If they examine me any more, I will urge them to bring proofs against me, for they speak of three or four witnesses." In a fourth conversation there dropped nothing of any consequence. But the commissioners thought that they had already enough to drive the matter home. Garnet had hitherto denied all acquaintance with the first stages of the plot: he and Oldcorn were now charged with their own words; and at first they boldly denied having uttered them. Oldcorn, however, confessed to their truth *on the rack.* Still Garnet held out; and, when showed Oldcorn's examination, he said that his friend might accuse himself falsely, but that he would not accuse himself. According to the Catholic account, he was then led to the rack, and made sundry admissions to escape torture; but according to government documents, which, we need hardly say, are in many essentials open to doubt, he began to confess from his inward conviction that it

would be of no use to persist in denying a fact, avowed by Oldcorn, and supported by Forset and Locherson. After much subtilizing and equivocating, he was driven to admit that, when Fawkes went over to Flanders, he had given him a recommendatory letter to his brother Jesuit, Baldwin; and, finally, that the design of blowing up the Parliament House with gunpowder had been revealed to him, as far back as the month of July of the preceding year, by Greenway, who had received it in confession from Catesby, and, as he believed, from Thomas Winter also. But he added that he had earnestly endeavoured to dissuade Catesby, and desired Greenway to do the same. He further stated that Catesby had at one time propounded a question to him, in general terms, as to the lawfulness of a design meant to promote the Catholic religion, in the execution of which it would be necessary to destroy a few Catholic friends together with a great many heretical enemies. And he said that, in ignorance of what Catesby's design really was, he had replied, that, "in case the object was clearly good, and could be effected by no other means, it might be lawful among many nocents to destroy some innocents." Oldcorn, who was no longer of any use, was now sent down to Worcester, with Mr. Abington, the owner of the house at Hendlip, and a priest named Strange, to be tried by a special commission. Abington, whose sole offence appears to have been the concealment of the two Jesuits, received the king's pardon, through his brother-in-law, Lord Mounteagle; Oldcorn and Strange, together with several other persons, were executed.

On the 3rd of March "Henry Garnet, superior to the Jesuits in England," was put upon his trial for high treason, before a special commission in Guildhall. Coke had again a grand opportunity for display, and he spoke for some hours. When the Jesuit replied, he was not permitted so much space. Coke interrupted him continually; the commissioners on the bench interrupted him; and James, who seems to have felt a respect for his powers of argument and eloquence, declared that the Jesuit had not fair play allowed him. Garnet pleaded that he had

done his best to prevent the execution of the powder treason; and that he could not, by the laws of his church, reveal any secret which had been received under the sacred seal of confession. He carried himself very gravely and temperately, and half charmed that immense audience; but, upon the evidence of the depositions obtained in the Tower, and the oaths of Forset and Locherson, a verdict of guilty was returned, and the lord chief justice pronounced the sentence of hanging, drawing, and quartering. During the whole trial they extracted nothing from the Jesuit: they had expected great discoveries, but they made none.* Instead, therefore, of being hurried to execution, Garnet was kept six weeks in prison, during which the greatest efforts were made to wring further avowals from him, and to lead him to a declaration of the principles of the society to which he belonged. In the first purpose they entirely failed, but in the second they partially succeeded; and, *if* the declarations concerning equivocation were fairly obtained, and *if* he expressed his real feelings, the Jesuit certainly entertained "opinions as inconsistent with all good government as they were contrary to sound morality."† It happened, however, rather unfortunately, that King James, and his ministers, and their predecessors, had made opinions nearly allied to those of the Jesuit the fixed rules of at least their political conduct. Garnet was executed on the 3rd of May; and Cecil got the order of the Garter as a reward for his exertions in the detection of the plot and his "constant dealing in matters of religion." Several other Catholics were put to death in Warwickshire and the adjoining counties; some for being personally concerned, some for harbouring priests and proclaimed traitors. There were other victims of a more elevated rank, but not one of these was punished capitally. The Earl of Northumberland, the kinsman of the traitor Percy, was seized on the first discovery of the plot, and committed to the care of the Archbishop of

* "I was assured there was nothing that was not known before by the confessions of those that were executed."—*Letter of Sir Allan Percy to Sir Dudley Carleton.*

† Jardine.

Canterbury; and, after the capture of the conspirators at Holbeach, the three Catholic lords, Stourton, Mordaunt, and Montague, were arrested, upon the ground that they all meant to be absent from parliament, and therefore must have known of the gunpowder treason. No one of them was ever put upon a fair trial, but the *Star Chamber* arbitrarily condemned them to heavy fines, and to imprisonment during the king's pleasure. The Earl of Northumberland was removed to the Tower, and closely examined many times. He demanded a public trial; but in the month of June they brought him up to the *Star Chamber*, and there accused him of having sought to be the head of the Papists, and a "promoter of toleration;" of having admitted Percy, a Catholic, to be a gentleman-pensioner, without exacting from him the proper oaths, and of having preferred the safety of his money to the safety of the king. It is said that James and his ministers believed that Northumberland was the person to whom the conspirators had intended to offer the regency or protectorship; but no mention was made of this in the *Star Chamber*. The earl was sentenced to pay a fine of 30,000*l.*, to be deprived of all his offices, and to be imprisoned in the Tower for life.*

The parliament, which was to have been blown into the air on the 5th of November, met for the despatch of business on the 21st of January, 1606. The penal statutes had made a few madmen, and, as if the dominant party wished to make more, they immediately called for an increase of severity. James tried to moderate the fierceness of the Commons, by which attempt he put his own orthodoxy in question; and, as he had chosen this unlucky moment for opening a matrimonial negotiation

* Jardine, Criminal Tales. The second volume of this work—a highly valuable illustration of English history and English law—is devoted entirely to the gunpowder plot, and contains, not only everything valuable that has been published on the subject, but numerous extracts from original and unpublished MSS. in the State Paper Office, Crown Office, and other repositories. The little volume is admirably complete as a contribution to history, and is, at the same time, as exciting and amusing as a romance.

for his son, Prince Henry, with the most Catholic court of Spain, the Puritans began to murmur that he was little better than a Papist himself. Laws the most irritating, oppressive, and cruel, against the whole body of Catholics, were carried through both Houses by overwhelming majorities; and James, more from fear than from any other motive, assented to them. A few of these laws will give a notion of the spirit that was abroad. No Catholic recusant was to appear at court, to live in London, or within ten miles of London, or to remove on any occasion more than five miles from his home, without especial license, signed by four magistrates. No recusant was to practise in surgery, physic, or law; to act as judge, clerk, or officer, in any court or corporation, or perform the office of administrator, executor, or guardian. In all cases of marriage where the ceremony was performed by a Catholic priest, the husband, being a Catholic, could have no claim on the property of the wife, nor the wife, if a Catholic, on that of the husband. A new oath of allegiance was devised, in which was a formal renunciation of the temporal power of the pope, and of his right of interfering in the civil affairs of England. Such Catholics as would take this oath were liable *only* to the penalties enumerated; but such as refused the oath were to be imprisoned for life, and to forfeit their personal property and the rents of their lands. It was expected that most of the Papists would take this oath, which did not trench on any religious dogma; but it was loaded with offensive epithets, and though some of the leaders of the Catholic clergy in England decided in its favour, the Jesuits condemned it, and the pope, Paul V., forbade it in a breve, which Blackwall, the archpriest, had the courage to publish to his congregation, though he himself would have recommended the taking of the oath. Blackwall, who was seventy years old, was soon lodged in a prison, where he remained till his death, which happened six or seven years after. Drury, another priest, was hanged, drawn, and quartered. James fondly thought that he could decide the question of the oath with his theological pen; and, with some assistance from his divines, he brought out

a tract entitled, 'An Apology for the Oath of Allegiance.' Parsons, the celebrated Jesuit, and Cardinal Bellarmino, who, according to no favourable judge,* "had the best pen of his time for controversy," replied to the Apology. James rejoined by publishing what he called 'A Monitory Preface.' To Parsons, he said, the fittest answer would be a rope. Bellarmino, who had appeared under a feigned name, was not more gently treated.

He was by this time in great distress for money. The Commons seemed disposed to vote a liberal subsidy, but the bill lay a good while on their table, and at last they came to a decision that it should not pass till they had prepared their list of grievances. The king, who abhorred the word grievance, had to digest, as he could, sixteen long articles; but he evaded the question of redress, and the Commons kept aloof from the subsidy. Cecil and the other ministers made half-promises in their master's name; the House of Lords was wondrously loyal and liberal, but it was not until the month of May that the Commons voted three subsidies and six fifteenths. While the money question was pending a report was spread that the king, who was away hunting, was assassinated at Oaking, in Berkshire, together with his three favourites, Philip Herbert earl of Montgomery, Sir John Ramsay, and Sir James Hay. There was a great consternation both in the Parliament House and in the city, with great weeping and lamentation of old and young, rich and poor, maids and wives, who again expected an English St. Bartholomew's. But about three o'clock in the afternoon James arrived safe and sound at Whitehall, and was heartily greeted by the people. It has been supposed that Cecil—perhaps the king himself—was no stranger to the origin of this *bruit*, which is supposed to have quickened the generosity of the Commons. Having got the subsidies, James prorogued parliament on the 27th of May to the 18th of November.

In the month of July James received a visit from his

* Bayle, Dict.

brother-in-law, Christian IV., king of Denmark; and in the round of costly feasts, hunts, and entertainments, which he gave on this occasion, he forgot the Commons, Garnet, the gunpowder plot, and all the state matters whatsoever. A satirical letter-writer of the time observes that the parliament had voted the subsidies very seasonably, so that the court was able to show off to advantage, and to entertain the royal Dane with shows, sights, and banquetings from morn till eve.* We possess too many corroborative accounts of these entertainments to doubt that they were gross and indecorous. At a feast given by Cecil at Theobalds the two mighty princes, James and Christian, got so drunk that his English majesty was carried to bed in the arms of his courtiers, and his Danish majesty mistook his bed-chamber, and offered the last of insults to the Countess of Nottingham, the handsome and spirited wife of the Lord High Admiral of England. But at the same great entertainment James's subjects, ladies as well as gentlemen of the highest rank, gave proof that they were capable of following the example of their sovereign. "Men," says an eye-witness, "who had been shy of good liquor before, now wallowed in beastly delights; the ladies abandoned their sobriety, and were seen to roll about in intoxication."†

The royal Dane, who stayed nearly a month, was scarcely gone when there arrived another expensive guest, in the person of Prince Vaudemont, one of James's kinsmen of the House of Guise, who brought an immense retinue with him. This led to fresh festivities and hunts, during which James could find no time to attend to business, though he now and then could steal a day or two to give to the orthodox clergy, who were intent on proving, by scripture and history, the royal supremacy, and the

* Sir John Harrington. "I will now in good sooth declare to you, who will not blab, that the gunpowder fright is got out of all our heads, and we are going on hereabouts as if the devil was contriving every man should blow up himself, by wild riot, excess, and devastation of time and temperance."—*Letter in Nugæ Antiquæ.*

† Harrington, Nug. Ant.

grand fact, that in all ages the authority of kings governed and ruled the church—doctrines most unpalatable to the Presbyterians of Scotland, and tending to disgust them with the project of the union which James had so much at heart. At last Vaudemont departed, and on the appointed day, in the month of November, the parliament met again. The Commons had voted their money, and now the king returned his answer to their grievances, the greater part of which referred to grants, made to particular persons, of the nature of monopolies. These grants, for the most part, James defended with arguments; but in some cases he remitted them to the consideration of the courts of law. In the former session James had caused to be introduced and debated his scheme of a perfect union between England and Scotland: the subject was now again taken up with great earnestness, and Bacon was prepared with a great and statesmanlike speech in support of the measure. But the two countries were in no respects prepared; the antipathies, prejudices, and hostilities of centuries were not to be cured in three short years; and many recent circumstances and indications had tended greatly to indispose men's minds, on either side the Tweed, to the grand political experiment. James had so openly and coarsely announced his creed of prerogative that alarms were excited, and people were averse to any measure that might increase his sovereign power. We have already mentioned his determined predilection for episcopacy; and it was generally understood that the state-union would be accompanied by a church union, the Scots being made to conform to the Anglican establishment, which they regarded, and which James himself had at one time professed to regard, as something little short of Papistry. The king, moreover, had dwelt continually upon the great superiority of the laws of England, which the Scots had no inclination to adopt. Nor is it ever easy to change the laws and institutions of a people except by absolute conquest. The Scots were justly proud of their hardly contested and preserved independence: they regarded with indignation and horror everything which seemed to fix the badge of submission

or inferiority upon them. The English, on the other side, scarcely less proud, were avowedly averse to admitting the Scots to a footing of equality; and the king's indiscretion, at the commencement of his reign, in lavishing English money, posts, and titles upon some Scottish favourites, had raised a popular clamour that the country was to be overrun and devoured by their poor and hungry neighbours. At different stages of the debates several members of the Commons gave full expression to the most angry and contemptuous feeling against James's countrymen. Sir Christopher Pigot, member for Buckinghamshire, expressed his astonishment and horror at the notion of a union between a rich and fertile country like England, and a land like Scotland, poor, barren, and disgraced by nature—between rich, frank, and honest men, and a proud, beggarly, and traitorous race. The whole Scottish nation hotly resented these gross insults, and threatened to take up arms to avenge them. James, in an agony of alarm, rebuked Cecil for allowing such expressions to pass unnoticed; and he declared to his council that the insult touched him as a Scot. Next he rebuked and threatened the Commons, who thereupon expelled Pigot, and even committed him to the Tower. In the session of 1604 the English and Scotch commissioners had agreed to the entire abrogation of all hostile laws between the two kingdoms, to the abolition of border courts and customs, and to a free intercourse of trade throughout the king's dominions. James had also, very soon after his accession, both on coins and in proclamations, assumed the title of King of Great Britain; and here, in prudence, he ought to have stopped, and left the rest to the salutary operation of time and peaceful intercourse. But he drove on to his end, and was greatly enraged with the Commons when they rejected his proposition for the naturalization of the *ante-nati*, or Scots born before his accession to the English throne. A decision, however, soon after obtained in the courts of law, extended the rights of naturalization to all Scots who were *post-nati*, or born after the king's accession; so that in the course of a few years the mass of the Scots

would become natural subjects of the English crown. The Commons did not venture to call in question this right of the post-nati, though it was evident that they did not admit it with very good will. When urged to go farther they invented all kinds of difficulties and delays, which called forth another harsh schooling from the king. In his speech to the two Houses, which had the haughtiness but not the dignity Elizabeth, he threatened to abandon London, and fix his residence at York or Berwick; and he alluded with bitterness to certain discourses which had been made in the Commons' House.*

The Commons, who had already learned that James could bark better than he could bite, would not take this castigation in silence. They made known to him through the Speaker, their earnest desire that he would listen to no private reports of their doings, but take his information of the House's meaning from themselves; that he would be pleased to allow such members as he had blamed to clear themselves in his hearing, and that he would by some gracious message, let them know that they might deliver their opinions in their places without restraint or fear. On the very next day he civilly replied, through the Speaker, that he wished to preserve their privileges, especially that of liberty of speech.† And yet, a very few days after this message, he was interfering again, and commenting on their speeches, telling them that they were too much given to the discussion of matters above their comprehension. Nay, when they moved the reading of a petition, which contained strong remonstrances against ecclesiastical abuses, and in favour of the deprived and persecuted Puritan preachers, the Speaker, according to orders received, told the House that his majesty reserved these matters to himself, and would not be pressed thereon. Some members cried out that this was an infringement of their liberties; but the Speaker told them (and truly enough) that there were many precedents,—that the late queen had often re-

* Commons' Journals.—Parl. Hist.—Ambassades de la Boderie. † Journals.

strained the House from meddling in politics of divers kinds. A motion was then made for the appointment of a committee to search for precedents. But here James sent down a second message, telling the House, that, though the petition contained matter whereof they could not properly take cognizance, yet, if they thought good to have it read, he was not against the reading. The Commons were mollified, and the petition was at last, "with general liking agreed to sleep."

On the 4th of July, 1607, James prorogued the parliament till the month of November of the same year, but, in effect, it did not meet again till February, 1610. While it was still sitting, in the month of May, 1607, lawless assemblages of men, women, and children were suddenly observed in Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, and Leicestershire. The king was greatly alarmed, and at first thought that it must be an organised insurrection, got up either by the Papists or by the Puritans, who were equally dissatisfied with his government. But it was nothing of the sort, but rather resembled the agricultural riots about enclosures which happened in the time of Edward VI., and it was soon and easily put down.

Meanwhile James continued his life of indolence and ease, hunting a good part of the year, and lying in bed the greater part of the day when he was not so pleasantly engaged. He even went so far as to say that he would rather return to Scotland than be chained for ever to the council-table. It was rarely that his subjects could get access to him in his retreats. When they did, his address and demeanour, and appointments, clashed strangely with the notion of a most royal and heaven-descended prince, the image, as he called himself, of the Godhead. He was dressed all over in colours green as the grass, with a little feather in his cap, and a horn instead of a sword by his side.* His queen, Anne of Denmark, was as fond of dancing and masques, fine dresses, and costly entertainments, as he was of hunting; nor had she, on the whole, much more personal dignity than her husband. She was

* Osborn.

dissipated, thoughtless, extravagant, and had her favourites. But it was the monstrous favouritism of James that withdrew the eyes of all from his other follies and the follies of the queen. When he first entered England, the man he most delighted to honour and enrich was Sir John Ramsay, who had stabbed the Earl of Gowrie at the time of the alleged conspiracy, for which he had been promoted by James to be Viscount Haddington. As soon as they were fairly settled in the land of promise, he received leases of crown-lands, gifts, and pensions. Haddington had recently been 10,000*l.* deep in the merchants' books; but this debt was presently paid off, and the Scottish Viscount was well matched, being married, by the king's desire, to the daughter of the great Earl of Sussex. Towards the end of James's reign he was created an English peer, with the title of Earl of Holderness. Next to Haddington, the prime favourite was Sir James Hay, another Scotchman, whom we have already mentioned, and who was soon created Lord Hay, and subsequently Viscount Doncaster and Earl of Carlisle. Places, honours, gifts, were showered upon this Scottish Heliogabalus, who in the course of his very jovial life, "spent above 400,000*l.*, which upon a strict computation, he received from the crown, leaving not a house nor acre of land to be remembered by."* But nearly all the Scottish favourites, like Carlisle, and their master, the king, spent their money as fast as they could get it; being rapacious, but certainly not avaricious. Nor had they long the field to themselves; for James presently chose to himself minions of English birth, to whom he gave far more than he ever bestowed on the Scots. The first of these favourites was Sir Philip Herbert, brother of the Earl of Pembroke, who was presently created Earl of Montgomery, found in a rich wife, and loaded with gifts. "The Earl of Montgomery," says Clarendon, "being a young man scarce of age at the entrance of King James, had the good fortune, by the comeliness of his person, his skill and indefatigable

* Clarendon, History of the Great Rebellion.

industry in hunting, to be the first who drew the king's eyes towards him with affection. . . . . Before the end of the first or second year he was made gentleman of the king's bedchamber and Earl of Montgomery. . . . . He pretended to no other qualifications than to understand horses and dogs very well; which his master loved him the better for, being at his first coming into England very jealous of those who had the reputation of great parts." The Viscount Haddington, the Scottish favourite, became jealous of Montgomery, and struck the English favourite with his whip on a public race-course at Croydon; an insult which the English took up as offered not merely to the spiritless minion, who had not courage to resent it, but to the whole nation; so far as Mr. John Pinchback, though a maimed man, having but the perfect use of two fingers, rode about with his dagger in his hand, crying, 'Let us break our fast with them here, and dine with the rest at London.' But, Herbert not offering to strike again, there was nothing spilt but the reputation of a gentleman."* This coward's mother, the high-minded sister of Sir Philip Sidney, tore her hair when she heard of her son's dishonour. James took the matter into his own hands, sent Haddington to the Tower for a short time, and then reconciled the parties. He had a deal of work of the like kind—for the Scottish and English courtiers quarrelled incessantly, and sometimes fought to the death.

When Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery, saw himself supplanted in the king's strange favour by a new comer, he betrayed no resentment, but clung to the new minion as to a bosom friend—a line of conduct which quite charmed the king, and which secured to Herbert a continuance of the royal liberality and good will. This new favourite, who over-topped all his predecessors, and first put the monstrous folly or vice of James in its full and disgusting light, was Robert Carr, or Ker, of the border family of Fernyherst, which had suffered severely in the cause of the king's mother. It is said that, when a mere child, Robert Carr had been page to James. In his

* Osborn.

youth he went over to France, according to the custom of Scottish gentlemen, and there acquired many courtly graces and accomplishments. He was poor, even beyond the bounds of Scottish poverty, but "straight-limbed, well-favoured, strong-shouldered, and smooth-faced, with some sort of cunning and show of modesty;"* and he had been taught that personal beauty, gay dress, and manners, would make him a fortune at court. He had recently returned from the continent, and the gloss was not off his French-cut doublet when he appeared, in the month of July, 1606, as page or esquire to the Lord Dingwall, in a grand tilting-match at Westminster. In the course of the chivalrous entertainment he had to present his lord's shield to the king. In doing this his horse fell with him, or threw him, close to James's feet. His leg was broken, but his fortune was made. The king, struck with his beauty, and tenderly moved by his accident, ordered him to be instantly carried into Master Rider's house at Charing Cross, sent his own surgeon to attend him, and, as soon as the tilting was over—"having little desire to behold the triumph, but much to have it ended"—he flew to visit him, and wait upon him in person; and after, by his daily visiting and mourning over him, taking all care for his speedy recovery, he made the day-break of his glory appear."† Carr, at this time, was scarcely of age, and, as James soon found out that the more scholastic part of his education had been sadly neglected, he undertook to teach him Latin himself, and gave him a lesson every morning.‡ And soon he began to give court places and

* Nug. Ant.

† "Lord!" exclaims Sir Anthony Weldon, "how the great men flocked then to see him, and to offer to his shrine in such abundance, that the king was forced to lay a restraint, lest it might retard his recovery by spending his spirits. And to facilitate the cure, care was taken for a choice diet for himself and chirurgeons with his attendants, and no sooner recovered but a proclaimed favourite."

‡ "I think some one should teach him English too; for, as he is a Scottish lad, he hath much need of better lan-

rich presents—things which Carr coveted more than all the Latinity of James's preceptor Buchanan, or of Cicero and Horace. On Christmas-eve, 1607, the new favourite was knighted, and sworn gentleman of the bedchamber, which place kept him constantly about the king, who took no care to conceal his nauseous affection from the court, leaning on his arm, pinching his cheek, smoothing his ruffled garment, and looking in his face even when directing his discourse to others. Soon everybody who had to ask a favour, to press a suit, or to demand simple justice, found that the surest road to success was through the good graces and protection of Sir Robert Carr. It was at first feared that Carr, as a Scot, would especially favour his own countrymen; but this was not the case, probably because the English lords and ladies could pay him best. "He even appeared to be endeavouring to forget his native country, and his father's house, having none of note about him but English. But, above all, was Sir Thomas Overbury his Pythias."* This close friendship, which ended in the murder of Overbury, commenced with Carr's first appearance at court; and it became the custom to bribe and flatter Sir Thomas, on account of the influence he had with his friend. Cecil and Suffolk, who were rivals, tried hard which should engross him and make him their monopoly. All this seems to have inflated Overbury, who was otherwise moderate and cunning, and a man of excellent parts. But it was not until after the death of Cecil, in 1612, that the minion was allowed to take his flight to the pinnacle of honour, and to become a sort of dictator both in court and kingdom.

A.D. 1608, 1609.—All the rest of Europe might despise the personal character and the timid policy of the English monarch; but there was one infant republic obliged, by circumstances which he had not made, to look to James with anxiety and awe. This was the government of Holland and the United Provinces, some

guage."—*Letter of Lord Thomas Howard to Sir John Harrington. Nug. Ant.* * Weldon.

of the keys to which he held in the cautionary towns of Flushing, Brill, and Rammekens. At one moment there was a report that James was in treaty with Philip III. for the sale of those places which the Dutch had not been able or willing to redeem with money; and after concluding his treaty of peace with Spain, by which he bound himself to be neutral, he had permitted troops to be levied in England for the service of the Spaniards and the Archduke Albert, who yet flattered himself with hopes of reducing the free States. In the end, the archduke either made or listened to an overture to negotiate separately with the Dutch, upon the basis of their independence, without communication with James, who would fain have held himself as arbitrator, or with any other party. When a truce was agreed upon with the archduke, the Dutch, in the month of April, 1607, informed the King of France that they had opened negotiations for a definitive peace with Spain, and invited their ally, Henry, to participate with them in the treaty. Three months after, the States condescended to give, in a formal manner, the same information and the same invitation to the King of England. The vanity of James must have been hurt, but he acceded with alacrity, and joined himself with Henry IV., as mediator and guarantee. On the 29th of March, 1609, a truce was concluded for twelve years between Spain and the new republic—a truce equivalent to a peace. By this treaty the brave and persevering Hollanders, after a forty years' war, obtained from their tyrannical masters entire independence, liberty to trade to the Indies, and the closing of the Scheldt. James got for himself the acknowledgment of a debt of 818,000*l.*, as the sum total of what was due to the English crown; and the promise of the States to discharge this debt by annual instalments of 60,000*l.* each. In the mean while, and until liquidation, James was to retain possession of Flushing, Brill, and Rammekens.*

The grand merit—perhaps the greatest of Elizabeth's

* Rymer.—Birch, Neg.—Stow.

government—was its strict order and economy. This, as we have remarked before, enabled her to maintain her high notions of prerogative, which were, however, on most public occasions, coloured over with kind and popular language, and varnished with dignity and grace.* But James was extravagant beyond all precedent, and he allowed the queen and his children, or the corrupt and greedy courtiers about them, to squander great sums. He was always in want of money. In the third year of his reign he could neither pay his servants, nor decently supply his own table. The treasurer, Lord Dorset, was stopped in the streets by the servants of the household, who wanted their wages, and the purveyors refused further supplies till they should be settled with. Upon the death of the Earl of Dorset, in 1608, the Earl of Salisbury (Cecil) succeeded to the post of treasurer, still retaining his secretaryship of state. The Earl of Northampton, who became lord privy seal about the same time, had considerable authority or influence with the king; but Cecil might be regarded now as prime minister, or sole acting minister of England. He found the treasury empty, but fortunately a portion of the subsidies had not yet been paid in and spent. This money was something to stand by, and his fertile mind devised other means of raising supplies without consent of parliament. Monopolies more oppressive than any that had preceded them were established and chartered; a right of fishery off the coasts of England and Scotland was sold to the Dutch; a feudal aid of twenty shillings on each knight's fee was levied by an old law, and duties were imposed upon the import and export of goods by the prerogative alone, without any reference even to the sanction of parliament. In the latter course Dorset had begun before him, by laying an import duty on Corinth raisins, or currants, by letters patent. Bates, a Turkey

* "Your queen (Elizabeth) did talk of her subjects' love and affection, and, in good truth, she aimed well; our king talketh of his subjects' fear and subjection, and herein I think he doth well too, *as long as it holdeth good*."—Lord T. Howard to Harrington. *Nug. Ant.*

merchant, resisted payment. He was proceeded against in the Court of Exchequer, where the barons decided for the crown, and laid down a right of taxation in the king without parliament, which was highly satisfactory to James and his ministers. With this precedent before him, Cecil went boldly to work, and imposed duties upon various kinds of goods by orders under the great seal. But all these sources of revenue were not sufficient to supply James's expenditure, and he was driven by his necessities to call together his parliament, which had been prorogued some thirty months.

A.D. 1610.—The Houses began their session on the 14th of February, when Cecil represented to the Lords, instead of causing it to be represented to the Commons, that the king's necessities were such as to call for an immediate supply. Neither time nor anything else was gained by this irregular mode of proceeding, and the minister was brought to a dead pause by the murmurs of the Commons, who took up the question of taxation and duty-making. Several of the members had sifted the legal authorities, and had arrived at the conclusion that the decision of the barons of the Exchequer in the case of Bates was illegal. Hakewill and Yelverton made two elaborate speeches to this effect, and they were lamely answered by Bacon and Sir John Davis, who sustained the cause of prerogative. The opposition became resolute and clamorous. James intimated, by a message, that they must not talk upon such subjects; but it appears that they talked louder than ever. He then called both Houses before him at Whitehall, and delivered to them a long lecture, which was at once blasphemous and ridiculous. "Kings," said this unroyal specimen, "are justly called gods, for that they exercise a manner or resemblance of divine power upon earth; for, if you will consider the attributes of God, you shall see how they agree in the person of a king. God hath power to create or destroy—to make or unmake—at his pleasure; to give life or send death; to judge all, and to be judged nor accountable to none; to raise low things and to make high things low at his pleasure; and to God both soul

and body are due. And the like power have kings: they make and unmake their subjects; they have power of raising and casting down, of life and of death,—judges over all their subjects, and in all causes, and yet accountable to none but God only. They have power to exalt low things and abase high things, and make of their subjects like men of chess,—a pawn to take a bishop or a knight; and to cry up or down any of their subjects as they do their money. And to the king is due both the affection of the soul and the service of the body of his subjects."* In the end he told them that it was sedition in subjects to dispute what a king might do in the plenitude of his power,—that kings were before laws, and that all laws were granted by them as matter of favour to the people. But, notwithstanding this parallelizing of himself with the divinity, the Commons would not allow that he had any right to lay duties upon currants or broad-cloth without their consent, and they presented a strong remonstrance against his inhibitions. They claimed "as an ancient general and undoubted right of parliament, freely to debate all matters which do properly concern the subject." They did not take upon themselves to review the judgment given by the Court of Exchequer, but they desired to know the reasons whereon that judgment was grounded, "especially as it was generally apprehended that the reasons of that judgment extended much farther, even to the utter ruin of the ancient liberty of this kingdom, and of the subjects' rights of property in their lands and goods."† They told him that the kings of this realm, with the assent of parliament, make laws and taxes, and impose duties upon goods and merchandise, but not otherwise: that his majesty's most humble Commons, following the example of their ancestors, and finding that his majesty, without advice or consent of parliament, had lately, in time of peace, set both greater impositions, and far more in number, than any of his ancestors had

* King James's Works.—Winwood's Memorials.—Journals.

† Journals.

ever done in times of war, with all humility presumed to petition that all impositions set without assent of parliament should be quite abolished and taken away, and that his majesty, in imitation of his noble progenitors, would be pleased that a law be made during this session of parliament, declaring that all impositions or duties set, or to be set, upon his people, their goods or merchandise, save only by common consent of parliament, are, and ever shall be, void.* This was gall and wormwood to James; but the Commons did more than petition;—they passed a bill taking away impositions. This, however, was rejected by the Lords, who were not disposed to do anything to check the march of absolutism; and the bench of bishops were always ready to find texts in Scripture for the support of the prerogative. The whole high church party had by this time gone far into the divine right, and had adopted the theory that the king's power was of God, and that of the parliament only of man.

On coming into the office of lord treasurer, Cecil had found that the king's debts amounted to 1,300,000*l.*, while his ordinary expenditure was calculated to exceed his revenue by 81,000*l.* at least. He had reduced the debt by about two-thirds; but he saw it accumulating afresh. He roundly proposed a perpetual yearly revenue to be granted, once for all, by parliament; and, as the price of this vote, he promised in the king's name that every grievance should be redressed and other modes of raising money abandoned. The Commons instantly brought forward a host of grievances: the minister and the courtiers wished them to vote the money first and complain afterwards; but they stuck to their grievances. One of the most important of these was the ecclesiastical High Commission Court, a most arbitrary tribunal, which fined and imprisoned,—passed sentence without appeal,—constantly interfered with men's domestic concerns and their civil rights, and in its ordinary procedure despised the rules and precautions of the common law. Another glaring abuse was the king's attempting to do

* Somers's Tracts.

everything by his own proclamation. James, indeed, might have been called the King of Proclamations. The Commons told him that it was the indubitable right of the people of this kingdom not to be made subject to any punishment that shall extend to their lives, lands, bodies, or goods, other than such as are ordained by the common law of this land, or the statutes made by their common consent in parliament. They then complained that it had been attempted to make royal proclamations take the place of law; that proclamations had been of late years much more frequent than they had ever been before, extending to liberty, property, inheritances, and livelihoods of men; some of them tending to alter the law; some made shortly after a session of parliament for matter rejected in the same session; some ordering punishments to be inflicted before lawful trial and conviction; some referring the punishment of offenders to courts of arbitrary discretion; some to support oppressive monopolies, &c. "By reason whereof," continued the Commons, "there is a general fear conceived and spread amongst your majesty's people, that proclamations will, by degrees, grow up and increase to the strength and nature of laws, whereby not only that ancient happiness and freedom will be much blemished (if not quite taken away), which their ancestors have so long enjoyed; but the same may also (in process of time) bring a new form of arbitrary government upon the realm: and this their fear is the more increased by occasion of certain books lately published, which ascribe a greater power to proclamations than heretofore had been conceived to belong unto them; as also by the care taken to reduce all the proclamations made since your majesty's reign into one volume, and to print them in such form as acts of parliament formerly have been, and still are used to be, which seemeth to imply a purpose to give them more reputation and more establishment than heretofore they have had."* The Commons, after giving a list of James's arbitrary proclamations, proceeded to complain of the delay of the

* Somers's Tracts.—Carte.

courts of law in granting writs of prohibition and *habeas corpus*, and of the jurisdiction of the council of Wales over the four bordering shires of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, and Salop, which it was pretended were included within their authority as Marches of Wales. Their other chief grievances were, the Duke of Lennox's patent for searching and sealing new drapery, monopolies of wine, licences and taxes recently set upon all public-houses, and a tax or duty upon sea-coal.

The lofty, the firm and moderate tone of this petition of grievances ought to have warned James that the spirit of the Commons was undergoing a great change, and that whatever had been their timidity and servility under the House of Tudor, they would now aim at occupying their elevated and proper position in the constitution. But James, though alarmed and in dreadful want of their money, clung fast to his prerogative, and thought to satisfy them with civil words and paltry concessions. With regard to the Court of High Commission, which probably indisposed the minds of a greater number of his subjects than any other single cause, he would not cede a line. As to the proclamations, he vouchsafed to promise that they should never exceed what the law warranted. The royal licences to public-houses he generously agreed to revoke. But the Commons, who maintained that he had no right to lay it on, would not vote him a perpetual revenue in exchange for this tax upon victuallers, and there was a pause exceedingly distressing to the needy king.

There remained certain parts of his royal prerogative which the Commons had hardly ventured to dispute; but as the minister spoke of "retribution" for "contribution," they came under discussion. These were the matters of wardship, tenure by knight service, and the old grievance of purveyance. The Commons got the Lords to discuss the several subjects with them in committees of conference, and Cecil showed a willingness to bargain for the surrender of these feudal sources of revenue in exchange for a fixed annual sum. But it was soon found that James, though willing to give up ward-

ship and purveyance, was exceedingly reluctant to part with tenure by knight service. Still, however, the Commons thought the concessions he was willing to make well worth the purchasing. It remained to fix the price. James asked 300,000*l.* per annum as a full composition for abolishing the right of wardship, and for taking away all purveyance, with some other concessions.* This was thought too dear, and, after a good deal of haggling, the king reduced it to 220,000*l.* per annum. The Commons, under the threat of a dissolution, bade up to 200,000*l.*, and the court gladly closed with them at that price. But parliament had to guard itself against the prerogative, which had been held up as beyond the control of statute; and they had also to devise by what means the 200,000*l.* per annum should be levied. They were resolved to be slow and cautious; their session had been already prolonged to the middle of July, and it was therefore agreed that they should vote something to meet the king's immediate exigencies, and resume the subject after prorogation. All that the Commons voted was an aid of one subsidy and one-tenth; upon which they were prorogued to the month of October. When they met again, James was astonished and irritated to find that the Commons were in a less complying humour than before. He wanted to concede less than he had promised: they insisted upon having more than they had bargained for. During the recess they had reflected seriously on the growing extravagance of the king and the rapacity of his courtiers. They suspected that the king would not keep his part of the bargain; they saw that no redress was to be expected as to the tyranny of the ecclesiastical courts,—that illegal customs were still exacted at the out-ports,—that proclamations were to have the force of acts of parliament. In this frame of mind (and there was a large party that had brooded with horror or disgust over James's blasphemous boastings) they declared their reluctance to voting the 200,000*l.* per annum without a better assurance of an equivalent in

* Among these was the odious right of interference in the marriages of infants and widows.

substantial reforms. James summoned them to a conference; and about thirty members waited upon his majesty at Whitehall. The king desired them to make a direct answer to some questions which he should put to them. The first was, Whether they thought he was really in want of money, as his treasurer and chancellor of the exchequer had informed them? "Whereto, when Sir Francis Bacon had begun to answer in a more extravagant style than his majesty did delight to hear, he picked out Sir Henry Neville, commanding *him* to answer, according to his conscience. Thereupon Sir Henry Neville did directly answer, that he thought his majesty was in want. 'Then,' said the king, 'tell me whether it belongeth to you, that are my subjects, to relieve me or not.' 'To this,' quoth Sir Harry, 'I must answer with a distinction: where your majesty's expense groweth by the commonwealth, we are bound to maintain it;—otherwise not.' And so, continuing his speech, he gave a note, that in this one parliament they had already given four subsidies and seven fifteenths, which is more than ever was given by any parliament, at any time, upon any occasion; and yet, withal, they had no relief of their grievances. Then was his majesty instant to have him declare what their grievances were. 'To all their grievances,' said Sir Harry, 'I am not privy, but of those that have come to my knowledge I will make recital.' And so began to say that, in matter of justice, they could not have an equal proceeding (aiming, perhaps, at his majesty's prerogative, *nullum tempus occurret regi*); and then, falling upon the jurisdiction of the marches of Wales, Sir Herbert Croft took the word out of his mouth; otherwise it was thought Sir Harry, being charged upon his conscience, would have delivered his judgment upon all, in what respect soever it might be taken."*

James now prorogued the parliament for nine weeks, a time which, by his orders, was employed by the court party in "dealing every one with his friends and ac-

* Winwood, Memorials.

quaintance in the House, to work them to some better reason."* But the Commons would not be so wrought upon; they were resolute not to replenish "the royal cistern" without a guarantee; and this made the king determine that they should not meet again to question his prerogative without filling his exchequer.† "He dissolved the parliament by proclamation."‡

The dissolution took place on the 9th of February, 1611, not a single act having been passed in the late session. In the preceding month of November, while the king was smarting under his disappointments and reviling all parliaments, the primate Bancroft departed this life, as much applauded by the high church party as he was condemned by the Puritans and all classes of dissenters. The orthodox Clarendon afterwards declared that "his death was never enough to be lamented,"—that he "understood the church excellently, and had almost rescued it out of the hands of the Calvinian party, and very much subdued the unruly spirit of the non-conformists by and after the conference at *Hampton Court*."§ During the stormy debates of these last sessions, Bancroft had done his best to defend his church from the reformers, and to encourage the king in his prerogative course. To the surprise of most people who were unacquainted with certain services, both secret and public, which he had rendered to the king in a recent visit to Scotland, Doctor George Abbot, only eighteen months a bishop, was now promoted to the primacy. Abbot, instead of being a high churchman like Bancroft, was strongly imbued with Presbyterian or Calvinistic principles, and disposed, not merely to tolerate, but to patronise the Puritan preachers. In the words of Clarendon, who takes the least favourable view of his character, and who is disposed to attribute the growth of Puritanism and disaffection to his conduct as head of the Anglican Church under James, Abbot "considered Christian religion no otherwise than as it abhorred and reviled

* Winwood, Memorials. † Id.
‡ Wilson, Life and Reign of James I.
§ History of the Great Rebellion and Civil Wars.

popery, and valued those men most who did that the most furiously. For the strict observation of the discipline of the church, or the conformity to the articles or canons established, he made little inquiry, and took less care; and having himself made a very little progress in the ancient and solid study of divinity, he adhered only to the doctrine of Calvin, and for his sake did not think so ill of that discipline as he ought to have done."* In this way the church became divided against itself; but the intolerance of churchmen in general continued much the same, or, if there were a difference, it was seen in an increased hostility to Papists arising out of the more ardent zeal of the Calvinists.

Perhaps they have somewhat overrated the delicate sensitiveness of his mind, or overlooked the diseased, crazy state of his body† (and he was sixty-two or sixty-three years old when he died); but historians have pretty generally attributed the death of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, to the mortifications he experienced in this parliament, and to the pecuniary embarrassments of the government which were consequent on the firmness of the Commons. Though his own coffers were well filled, the treasury was empty, and he probably entertained no very sanguine hope of replenishing it by the sale of crown lands and the raising of loans in the different counties by sending privy seals, which latter exercise of the prerogative was put in force with a trembling hand, lest "that sacred seal should be refused *by the desperate hardness of the prejudiced people.*" Whatever were the cause, the minister fell into a languid, hopeless state, and retired from business to drink the waters at Bath. He derived no benefit from the healing springs, and, on the 24th of May, 1612, he died, worn out and wretched, at Marlborough, on his way back to the court. Long suffering had obliterated the charms of rank and honours, princely mansions, and wide estates, an enormous wealth, and a policy and ambition which

* History of the Great Rebellion.

† He was deformed in his person, and had always been of a weakly constitution.

had triumphed over many a formidable rival. In his last moments he said to Sir Walter Cope, "Ease and pleasure quake to hear of death; but my life, full of cares and miseries, desireth to be dissolved." His death was certainly not less welcome to the great mass of the nation; but, in the worse that followed, people soon lamented the bad rule of this remarkable son of a most remarkable father. Though heartless and perfidious, Cecil had abilities of the highest order; and though subservient and ready to erect James into an absolute monarch rather than lose favour and office by thwarting that prince's vehement inclinations, he had a sense of national dignity, and a system of foreign policy which would have saved England from degradation. The ministers who succeeded him had all his baseness and villany with none of his genius.

Before Cecil found peace in his grave, the fate of an interesting victim, whose adventures furnish one of the most touching episodes in our history, had been sealed by a barbarous hand. The Lady Arabella Stuart, whose descent was a crime never to be forgiven, had been kept chiefly about court ever since the trial of Raleigh and Cobham. In the disorderly and tasteless revelry of the court she had continued to cultivate a taste for elegant literature, not wholly neglecting the study of divinity, which James seems to have made fashionable with both sexes, and nearly all classes of his subjects. It was her avowed preference of a single life that somewhat disarmed the dangerous jealousy of Elizabeth, though even in that queen's reign her condition was a very unhappy one. James at one time, when he had neither wife nor children of his own, asked the hand of the Lady Arabella for his favourite Esme Stuart, Duke of Lennox, who was the lady's cousin. Elizabeth not only forbade this marriage, but she also imprisoned Arabella, using very sharp and insulting language against James for his having dared to propose such a match. On the death of Elizabeth, one of Cecil's first cares was, as we have seen, to secure the person of the lady, and when James was safely seated on the throne, having now

children, he seems to have settled in his own mind that she should never be allowed to marry. In the following year a great ambassador came from the king of Poland, whose chief errand was to demand her in marriage for his master; and at the very same moment there were indirect proposals made for Count Maurice, who claimed to be Duke of Gueldres. "But," says the courtly reporter of the latter news, "my Lady Arabella spends her time in lecture, reading, hearing of service, and preaching. . . . She will not hear of marriage."* The pension James allowed her for her support was very irregularly paid; and it should appear that she was frequently reduced to very great distress for want of money. She was also exposed to the persecutions of her aunt, the Countess of Shrewsbury, a violent and vulgar woman, who appears to have been placed over her as a sort of duenna. James thought it business worthy of him to settle these womanly quarrels; and, in 1608, he did something more, for he gave Arabella a cupboard of plate worth more than 200*l.* for a new-year's gift, and 1000 marks to pay her debts, besides some yearly addition to her maintenance.† Shortly after this, at some court festival, she renewed her acquaintance, which had begun in childhood, with William Seymour, son of Lord Beauchamp and grandson of the Earl of Hereford.‡ If there had not been a tender affection before (and it is probable that there had been, and of an old standing), it now sprung up rapid and uncontrollable. In February, 1610, an arrangement of marriage between them was detected. James was alarmed in the extreme. The two lovers were summoned before the privy council. There, Seymour was reprimanded for daring to ally himself with the royal blood, and they were both forbidden, on their allegiance, to contract marriage without the king's permission. To escape imprisonment they promised obedience; but, in the following month of July, it was discovered that they were privately married. Instantly James issued his mandate, and Arabella was committed

* Lodge, Illustrations. † Ibid.

‡ See ante, p. 3, note †.

to the custody of Sir Thomas Parry, at Lambeth; her husband to the Tower. This, their first confinement, was not rigorous; the lady was allowed to walk in a garden, and Seymour, who probably purchased the indulgence from his keepers, met her there, and in her own chamber. She also got letters conveyed to the queen, who interfered in her favour. But one morning she received the dismal news that she must remove forthwith to Durham. She refused to quit her chamber; but the officers carried her in her bed to the water-side, forced her, shrieking, into a boat, and rowed her up the river. Her agitation and distress of mind brought on a fever, and, by the time she reached Barnet, a physician declared that her life would be in danger if she were forced to travel farther. The doctor waited upon the king with this intelligence. James observed, very sapiently, that it was enough to make any sound man sick to be carried in a bed in the manner she was. But his resolution was fixed that she should proceed to Durham, if he were king. But he soon relaxed his severity, and granted her permission to remain for a month at Highgate for the recovery of her health. At Highgate she was lodged in a gentleman's house, and closely watched; yet on the very day (the 3rd of June, 1611) that the Bishop of Durham, whose guest or prisoner she was to be, proceeded northward to prepare her lodging, she effected her escape, being assisted by two friends, who were in correspondence with her husband in the Tower. "Disguising herself by drawing a great pair of French-fashioned hose over her petticoats, putting on a man's doublet, a man-like peruke, with long locks over her hair, a black hat, black cloak, russet boots with red tops, and a rapier by her side, she walked forth, between three and four of the clock, with Markham. After they had gone a-foot a mile and a half to a sorry inn, where Crompton attended with horses, she grew very sick and faint, so as the ostler that held the stirrup said, that the gentleman would hardly hold out to London; yet, being set on a good gelding, astride, in an unwonted fashion, the stirring of the horse brought blood enough into her

face; and so she rid on towards Blackwall." There she found boats and attendants, who rowed her down the river to Gravesend, where a French bark lay at hand ready to receive her. She expected to find her husband on board; but though Seymour had stolen out of the Tower in the disguise of a physician, he had not yet reached the vessel. After waiting for a short time, the French captain, who knew the seriousness of the adventure, became alarmed, and, in spite of the entreaties of the lady, he hoisted all sail and put to sea. When Seymour reached the spot, he found his wife was gone; but he got on board a collier, the captain of which agreed to land him on the coast of Flanders for 40*l.* Meanwhile the intelligence of Arabella's escape from Highgate had reached the palace. There, in an instant, all was alarm, hurry, and confusion, as if a new gunpowder-plot had been discovered. Couriers were despatched in all directions, with orders to haste for their lives. Ships and boats were hurried down the Thames as if a new Armada were in the Channel. The alarm became the greater when, on despatching a messenger to the lieutenant of the Tower, it was learned that *his* prisoner also had escaped. Seymour got safe to shore, and was *not* sent back; the poor Lady Arabella was less fortunate, being overtaken by a "pink royal," when about midway across the Channel. The Frenchman stood a sharp but short action: and when he lowered his flag, she was seized, carried back to the Thames, and then shut up in the Tower. Her heart was breaking, yet she said she cared not for captivity if her husband was safe. The advocacy of the queen,—her own eloquent appeals, were all thrown away on James; she never recovered her liberty, and grief and despair made a wreck of her brilliant intellect. She died within the walls of the Tower, and in a pitiable state of insanity, on the 27th of September, 1615.*

* Lodge, Illustrations.—Sir Henry Ellis, Original Letters.—Wilson.—Aikin, Court of King James, &c.—Winwood, Memorials.

James, who is described as dividing his time between his inkstand, his bottle, and his hunting, again took up the pen of controversy in 1611. As he was "out in pursuit of hares," a book written by the Dutch divine, Conrad Vorstius, treating of the nature and attributes of the Divinity, was brought to him. He instantly left off hunting, and began reading—and with so critical an eye, that within an hour he detected and postillated a long list of what he called damnable heresies. With not less activity he wrote to Winwood, his ambassador in the Low Countries, commanding him to accuse Vorstius, before the States, of heresy and infidelity, and to signify to the States his utter detestation of those crimes, and of all by whom they were tolerated. The Hollanders, who had recently elected this heresiarch to the professorship of Divinity at Leyden, vacant by the death of Arminius, were not inclined to give ear to this remonstrance from a foreign prince, and they intimated as much in a respectful tone. Thereupon James, "plying his inkstand again," sent them an admonition in his own hand-writing. Assuming the tone of a Protestant pope, having authority in spirituals over other countries than his own, he bade them remember that the king of England was the Defender of the Faith, and that it would be in his competency, in union with other foreign churches, to "extinguish and remand to hell these abominable heresies." He told them that this wretched Vorstius deserved to be burnt alive, as much as any heretic that had ever suffered. To all this the Hollanders returned a very cool and a very evasive answer. Then James entered a public protest against the heresies of Vorstius, and informed the States that they must either give up their divinity professor, or forfeit the friendship of the king of England. Archbishop Abbot applauded the king, and urged him to adopt violent measures; and Winwood, the ambassador, who was equally zealous, thundered threats in the ears of the Dutch: but still the States refused to displace Vorstius till he should be heard in his own defence. James put forth a short work, in French, of his own compo-

sition, entitled, 'A Declaration against Vorstius.'* But, after all, he would have been defeated in this warfare, if the Hollanders had not been divided as to what was orthodoxy and what heterodoxy. A powerful sect and party, called the Gomarists,† hated Vorstius as much as James and Abbot and Winwood hated him, and, in the end, the divinity professor was expelled from Leyden to wander about in poverty and obscurity. During six or seven years he was obliged to conceal himself from his intolerant opponents in Tergau; and at the end of that period he was driven out of Holland, the synod of Dort having given a definitive judgment against him, and the States having sentenced him to perpetual banishment. At this said synod, which was held in 1619, the deputies from the clergy of England and Scotland were the principal promoters of the proscription of Vorstius, which was followed by the barbarous exile of seven hundred families who entertained his tenets. During two years the expelled professor disappeared from the world, being obliged to hide himself in very secret places; for there were many men who imagined that it would be doing a good deed to murder him. At last the Duke of Holstein offered him and the exiled families a secure asylum. He arrived at this haven of rest in the month of June, 1622, but he soon quitted it for a surer and more lasting one—dying in the month of September of the same year. James was prouder of this victory than he would have been of winning battles like Crecy and Azincourt. Unfortunately the controversy sharpened his temper; and, as if to give the Dutch an example, he relighted the fires of Smithfield, being the last English sovereign to sign the writ *de hæretico comburendo*. Bartholomew Legate, who is described as an obstinate Arian heretic, was apprehended and examined by the king and some

* It was printed and dispersed over the continent in French, Latin, Dutch, and English.

† After Gomarus, Professor at Leyden, the chief opponent of Arminius in the dispute about the decrees of God and the efficacy of grace.

of the bishops, and then committed to Newgate. After lying a considerable time in prison he was tried before the Consistory Court, which passed sentence upon him, as contumacious and obdurate, and delivered him over to the secular arm, to be burned; and he was burned accordingly in Smithfield, on the 18th of March, 1612. On the 11th of April following, which was Easter eve, Edward Wightman, convicted of heresy of a very multiform character, was burned at Lichfield.* A third victim was ready for the flames; but it was found, notwithstanding the overflowing bigotry of many classes, that the mass of the nation could no longer look upon such executions with any other feelings than those of horror and disgust. The lawyers began to question whether the proceedings were strictly legal, and the bishops to doubt whether they were useful to their church. "The king accordingly preferred that heretics hereafter should silently and privately waste themselves away in prison."† In other words, men were exposed to a slower and more cruel martyrdom; but there was no more burning in England.

Some time before these events Henry IV. of France had fallen beneath the knife of an assassin. On the 14th of May, 1610, as he was on his way to the arsenal, he was stabbed in a street of Paris, by Francis Ravaillac, a young fanatic friar of the order of the Jacobins.‡

An opinion prevailed, or is said to have prevailed, among the French populace, that the king, who had allied himself with Protestants and heretics, was going to wage war against the pope; and attempts were made at the time, and long afterwards, to connect the regicide

* It should seem that Legate was what is now called a Unitarian, and that Wightman was crazed; for, in addition to his denying the Trinity, he said that *he* was the Holy Spirit promised in Scripture.

† Fuller.

‡ Three times before this fatal blow of Ravaillac, the life of Henry IV. had been attempted by assassins; by Pierre Barriere, in 1593,—by Pierre Oüin, in 1597,—and by Jean de l'Isle, a maniac, in 1605.

with the court of Rome, with the court of Spain, with the Jesuits; but the murderer, even on the rack, maintained that he had had no accomplices or instigators whatever, and that he had been carried to do the deed only by an instinct or impulse, which he could neither control nor explain. The truth appears to be, that the monk was mad, and unconnected with any party either religious or political: but this did not save him from a horrible death, nor prevent James from persecuting more sharply the English Catholics. In all this, however, James had the full consent of his parliament, which was then sitting, and which would readily have carried him to greater extremities. In Scotland, perhaps, more than in England, people were convinced that Henry had fallen a sacrifice to the pope and the Jesuits, and that an attempt would be made on the sacred person of James. The Scottish privy council addressed a long letter to their most "gracious and dread sovereign," beseeching him (most unnecessarily) to have a care of himself, and recommending him to call up a body-guard of native Scots, that might attend him in all his huntings and games.

By the death of Henry IV. the crown of France fell to his son, Louis XIII.—a weak boy, who never became a man in intellect or strength of character. During his minority the post of regent was occupied by his mother, Mary de' Medici, who soon undid the good which her husband had done to the French people, without reforming the morals of the court. It was her general system to pursue a course of politics directly contrary to that of Henry, who had been a most unfaithful husband; but, notwithstanding this system, she adhered to the Protestant league, and sent ten thousand men to join four thousand English who had landed on the continent, under the command of Sir Edward Cecil. These allies joined the Dutch and Germans under the commands of the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Anhalt. The Austrians were presently driven out of Juliers, of which they had taken forcible possession on the death of the Protestant prince, John duke of Cleves, Juliers, and Berg; and as the emperor was not in a condition to renew the struggle, and

as James and Mary de' Medici were most anxious for peace, the tranquillity of Europe was not very seriously disturbed.

While these events were passing abroad and at home, Robert Carr, the handsome Scotchman, was eclipsing every competitor in the English court. He was created Viscount Rochester in the month of March, 1611; was made a member of the privy council in April, 1612; and he received also from his lavish master the Order of the Garter. Upon the death of the Earl of Salisbury (Cecil) he became lord chamberlain, that post being given up to him by the Earl of Suffolk, who succeeded Cecil as lord treasurer. And as the post of Secretary remained vacant for a considerable time, the favourite did the duties of that office by means of Sir Thomas Overbury, whose abilities and experience made up in part for his own deficiencies. Carr, viscount Rochester, became in effect prime minister of England as much as Cecil had been, though nominally he held no ministerial situation; and his power and his influence were not decreased when the king nominated Sir Ralph Winwood and Sir Thomas Lake to be joint secretaries of state; for these men were not high and mighty enough to oppose the wishes of the favourite. But Sir Thomas Overbury, who on several accounts was distasteful to the king, became an object of his jealousy and hatred when James saw the entire confidence and affection which his minion reposed in him.

Prince Henry, the heir to the crown, had now entered his eighteenth year, and had been for some time the idol of the people. If his character is fairly described by his contemporaries, he was entitled to this admiration; but we cannot but remember the universal practice of contrasting the heir apparent with the actual occupant of the throne; and this prince's untimely end may very well have produced some of that exaggeration which arises out of tenderness and hopeless regret. In person, in manners, and in character, he differed most widely from his father. He was comely, well made, graceful, frank, brave, and active. Henry V. and Edward the Black Prince were proposed to him as models; and it was the example

of those warlike princes that he determined to follow. Though not absolutely averse to learning, spending two or three hours a day in his study, he loved arms better than books. He employed a great part of his time in martial exercises, in handling the pike, throwing the bar, shooting with the bow, vaulting, and riding. He was a particular lover of horses, and what belonged to them, but not fond of hunting like his father; and, when he engaged in it, it was rather for the pleasure of galloping his gallant steeds than for any which the dogs afforded him. He studied fortification, and at a very early age turned his attention to ships and sea matters. Sir Walter Raleigh, the brave and the scientific soldier and sailor, who was still languishing in the Tower, became an object of his enthusiastic admiration; and he was often heard to say that no other king but his father would keep such a bird in such a cage. All this was when he was a mere child. It is remarked by an old writer, that he was too soon a man to be long lived. As he grew up he practised tilting, charging on horseback, and firing artillery. He caused new pieces of ordnance to be cast, with which he learned to shoot at a mark. In other particulars Prince Henry was strikingly contrasted with his parent. James could never be quiet in church time, having always an eagerness to be preaching himself: Henry was a most attentive hearer of sermons, and, instead of disputing with them, was wont to reward the preachers,—no uncertain road to popularity. James was a most profane swearer, Henry swore not at all; and he had boxes kept at his three houses—at St. James's, Richmond, and Nonsuch—to receive the fines on profane swearing which he ordered to be strictly levied among his attendants. The money thus collected was given to the poor. . . . "His court was more frequented than the king's, and by another sort of men; so the king was heard to say, "Will he bury me alive?" And the high-church favourites taxed him with being a patriot and a friend to the Puritans. To the last-named class, indeed, he appeared as a ruler promised in the prophecies of Scripture,—as one that would complete the reformation of the Church of Christ.

"Henry the Eighth pulled down the abbeys and cells,
But Henry the Ninth shall pull down bishops and bells,"

was a rhyme common in the mouths of the people, among whom the spirit of dissent gained strength in proportion to the efforts made to force them to conformity. Yet when the usual age for marrying princes arrived, his father, who was less particular about any other point than about a high alliance, wished to marry Henry to a Catholic wife—a match which would have cost him the favour of the Puritans. A negotiation with Spain for the hand of the eldest Infanta was carried on for years, and when it grew languid or hopeless, James listened to an overture from Mary de' Medici, the queen-regent of France, who was anxious for a marriage between Prince Henry and Madame Christine, second daughter of France. At the same time James was tempted by an offer of a daughter of the Duke of Florence, with millions of crowns for her dower; and shortly after an ambassador-extraordinary arrived from Savoy to solicit the hand of James's daughter Elizabeth for the heir of that dukedom, and to offer that of his sister to Prince Henry. This double commission led to no results, though James was willing to bestow his daughter on the Catholic Savoyard. To his father, Henry was all submission, protesting his readiness to marry whomsoever he might choose for him;* but to other persons he held a different language: and the Puritans, who most admired him and most feared or hated the Papists, seem to have com-

* Burnet, however, says, "He was so zealous a Protestant, that, when his father was entertaining propositions of marrying him to Popish princesses—once to the archduchess, and at another time to a daughter of Savoy, he, in a letter that he wrote to the king on the 12th of that October in which he died (the original of which Sir William Cook showed me), desired that, if his father married him that way, it might be with the youngest person of the two, of whose conversion he might have hope, and that any liberty she might be allowed for her religion might be in the privatest manner possible."—*Own Times*, i. 11. A singular reason for preferring a young wife to an old one.

forted themselves with the conviction that he would never marry a Catholic wife.*

A match, which was perfectly to the taste of the people, though not to that of her mother, was at length proposed for the Princess Elizabeth; and on the 16th of October, 1612, Frederick V., the Count Palatine, the bridegroom elect, who had the good wishes of all zealous Protestants, arrived in England to receive his young bride. In the midst of the festive preparations for this marriage, Prince Henry, who appears to have outgrown his strength, and to have greatly neglected the care of his health, was seized with a dangerous illness at Richmond, where he was preparing his house for the reception of the Palatine. Recovering a little, and hoping to conquer the disease by the vigour of his spirit, he rode up to London to welcome his intended brother-in-law at Whitehall. On the 24th of October, notwithstanding the weak state of his body and the coldness of the season, he played a great match of tennis with the Count Henry of Nassau, in his shirt. That night he complained exceedingly of lassitude and a pain in his head. The following morning, being Sunday, though faint and drowsy, he would rise and go to the chapel. From the sermon in his own house the prince went to Whitehall, where he heard another with the king. After this he dined with his majesty, and ate with a seemingly good appetite, but his countenance was sadly pale, and his eye hollow and ghastly. After dinner his courage and resolution in combating with and dissembling his disorder gave way to the force of it, and he was obliged to take a hasty leave and return to St. James's. There he grew daily worse. His head frequently wandered, but on the night of the 2nd of November his delirium increased alarmingly: he called for his clothes, for his armour and sword, saying he must be gone. On Thursday, the 5th of November, the anniversary of the gunpowder plot, the king was informed that there was no hope. Upon this, James, who had

* Birch, Life of Prince Henry.—Nug. Ant.—Wilson, Weldon.

visited him several times at St. James's, being "unwilling and unable to stay so near the gates of sorrow, removed to Theobald's in Hertfordshire, to wait there the event." Abbot, the archbishop of Canterbury, attended the prince, told him of his danger, and took his confession of faith. In the course of that day the prince repeatedly called out "David!" "David!" meaning Sir David Murray, his confidential friend and servant; but when Murray stood by his bed-side, he always answered with a sigh, "I would say something, but I cannot utter it." During that night he made many efforts to speak on some secret matter which seemed to press heavily on his heart, but he could not be understood by reason of the rattling in his throat. Sir David Murray, however, contrived to understand his earnest wish that a number of letters in a certain cabinet in his closet should be burnt. It is said that these letters were burnt accordingly. On the following morning his attendants thought him dead, and raised such a cry of grief that it was heard by the people in the streets, who echoed the loud lamentation. The prince recovered from his faint, and in the afternoon took two cordials or nostrums, one of which was prepared and sent by the captive Raleigh. But the sufferer was now past cure and help, and he expired at eight o'clock that night, being Friday, the 6th of November, 1612. He was eighteen years eight months and seventeen days old. The people had not been made aware of his danger till almost the last moment: their grief at his loss was unbounded; and all classes were deeply affected by the early death of the spirited youth. He was the more regretted because his only surviving brother, Prince Charles, was a sickly and retiring boy, and had not had the fortune to acquire popularity. In a short time dark rumours were raised that Prince Henry had been poisoned by the favourite Rochester, with whom he could never agree; and these horrid suspicions did not stop till they had included his own father as an accomplice. The whole notion was absurd; the youth died of the effects of a putrid fever on a debilitated constitution.* But

* Birch, Life.—Aulicus Coquinariæ.—Somers's Tracts.—Bacon's Works.

though James was innocent of the poisoning, he showed a brutal indifference to the fate of his son. Only three days after the event he made Rochester write to Sir Thomas Edmonds, his ambassador at Paris, to recommence, in the name of Prince Charles, the matrimonial treaty which he had begun for his brother. In a very few days more he prohibited all persons from approaching him in mourning; and though he thought fit to delay the marriage, he affianced his daughter Elizabeth to the Palatine in December, kept his Christmas with the usual festivities, and solemnized the nuptials on St. Valentine's Day with an expense and magnificence hitherto unknown in England. Long before their calamities fell upon the Palgrave and his bride,—indeed, before they were well out of England,—the court was hampered and vexed by pecuniary embarrassments. James had exacted the old feudal aid for the marriage of his daughter, as he had done before for the knighting of his eldest son; but the sum thus obtained (it was only about 20,000*l.*) went but a very short way towards paying for the dowry, the entertainment of the bridegroom with his numerous retinue, and the marriage feast. Lord Harrington, who accompanied the bride to the Rhine, claimed on his return 30,000*l.* The king having no money to give him, gave him a grant for the *coining of base farthings in brass.*

A.D. 1613.—The two noble Howards, the earl of Suffolk and the earl of Northampton,* seeing that there was no possibility of checking the mighty rise of Rochester, sought to bind him to their family, and so share the better in the good things which the king continued to lavish on the favourite. Suffolk had a daughter, the most beautiful, the most witty, and the most fascinating young woman in the English court. This Lady Frances Howard had been married at the age of thirteen to the Earl of Essex, only a year older than herself, the son of the unfortunate earl who had perished on the scaffold in Elizabeth's time. James had promoted this ill-omened match out of a pretended regard to Essex's father. As the parties were so young, the bride was sent home to her

* Suffolk was the son, Northampton the brother, of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, executed in 1572.

mother, a weak and vain, if not a vicious woman; the bridegroom was sent to the university, whence he went on his travels to the continent. At the end of four years they went to live together, as one of them supposed, as man and wife; but if Essex rejoiced in the loveliness of his bride, and the universal admiration she attracted, his joy was soon overcast, for he found her cold, contemptuous, and altogether averse to him. In effect, his countess was already enamoured of Rochester and his splendid fortunes. Prince Henry, it is said, had disputed her love with the handsome favourite, but in vain. Sir Thomas Overbury had assisted Rochester in writing his passionate love-letters, and had even managed sundry stolen interviews between the lovers, in which what remained of the innocence of the young countess had been made a wreck; but though Overbury's lax morality did not prevent him from rendering such services as these, his policy was strongly opposed to his friend committing himself further. He well knew the odium which Rochester would bring upon himself by proclaiming his love and contracting an adulterine marriage with the countess; and, wishing to retain his own ascendancy over the favourite, the fountain of riches and honour, he was averse to the influence which the noble Howards would obtain by the union. As the favourite was indebted to him "more than to any soul living, both for his fortune, understanding, and reputation," he spoke his mind freely and boldly, objecting the "baseness of the woman," the dishonour of such a marriage, and declaring that, if Rochester persisted, he would raise an insuperable obstacle to the divorce from Essex, which was to precede any open talk about the new marriage. The favourite seemed to yield to the strong remonstrances of his friend and counsellor. Overbury, though familiar with the intrigues of a court and the worst vices of human nature, foresaw no mischief to himself: he continued to derive profit and credit from his close connexion with the favourite; and on the morning of the 21st of April, 1613, he boasted to a friend of his good fortune and brilliant prospects. That very evening he was committed to the Tower. Rochester, in his infatuation, had told all that he

had said to his beautiful and revengeful mistress. In her first fury she offered 1000*l.* to Sir John Wood to take his life in a duel. But there was a too apparent risk and uncertainty in this course; and her friends (her uncle, the Earl of Northampton, was among these advisers) suggested a wiser expedient,—which was, to send Overbury on an embassy to the Great Duke of Russia. If he accepted this mission he would be out of the way before the question of the divorce came on; if he took the appointment in the light of a harsh exile, and refused it, it would be easy to irritate the king against him as an undutiful subject. When the mission to Russia was first mentioned to him, Sir Thomas seemed not unwilling to undertake it. But then, it is said, his friend Rochester told him how much he relied upon his integrity and talent for business,—how much he should lose by his absence; and, in the end, implored him to refuse the unpromising embassy, undertaking to reconcile him soon with the king if his majesty should testify any displeasure. By this time nothing but Sir Thomas's immediate death would satisfy the malignant countess; and Rochester had become as a pipe upon which she played her stops as she chose. As soon as Overbury had refused the mission which was offered to him by the lord chancellor and the Earl of Pembroke, the favourite represented to the king that Sir Thomas was not only grown insolent and intolerable to himself, but audacious and disobedient to his sacred majesty. James, who already hated Overbury, readily agreed with his minion and the rest of his council that Overbury was guilty of contempt of the royal authority. A warrant was brought up and signed, and Sir Thomas was sent to his dungeon. The countess's uncle Northampton, and her lover Rochester, had prepared the business so that Sir William Wade was removed from the lieutenancy of the Tower, and Sir Jervis Elvis, or Elwes, a person wholly dependent upon them, put in his place. By their order Elwes confined Overbury a close prisoner, so that his own father was not suffered to visit him, nor were any of his servants admitted within the walls of the Tower.

A few days after these strange practices, the Countess

of Essex, backed by her father the Earl of Suffolk, who signed the petition with her, sued for a divorce from her husband upon the ground of the marriage being null by reason of physical incapacity. Forthwith James appointed, under the great seal, a commission of delegates to try this delicate cause. The delegates named by his majesty were Abbot archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Lichfield and Coventry, and Rochester; with Sir Julius Cæsar, Sir John Parry, Sir Daniel Dunne, Sir John Bennet, Francis James, and Thomas Edwards, doctors of the civil law. The Earl of Essex, who had suffered enough already from the beautiful demon, made no resistance, but seems to have gone gladly into measures which would free him from such a wife. It has been mildly said that "all the judicial forms usual on such occasions were carefully observed;"* but it cannot be denied that the course of the disgraceful investigation was biassed by interferences and influences of a most unusual and irregular character. Abbot, the Primate, who in all this foul business acted like a man of honour and conscience, objected strongly to the divorce; but James took up the pen, and answered the archbishop in the double capacity of absolute king and special pleader. He told Abbot, roundly, that it became him "to have a kind of implicit faith" in his royal judgment, because he was known to have "some skill in divinity," and because, as he hoped, no honest man could doubt the uprightness of his conscience. "And," continued James, "the best thankfulness that you, that are so far my creature, can use towards me, is, to reverence and follow my judgment, and not to contradict it, except where you may demonstrate *unto me* that I am mistaken or wrong informed."† The king was never backward in writing or delivering this kind of schooling, or in seconding his minions through right or wrong; but it is believed that his zeal was quickened on the present occasion by the opportune gift of 25,000*l.* in gold, which Rochester made to him out of his savings.

* Lingard.

† King's Letter to Archbishop Abbot.—State Trials.

The primate, however, would not sacrifice his conscience, and three out of five of the doctors of the civil law took part with him. The bishops were less scrupulous, for, with the exception of London, they all voted as the king wished; and on the 25th of September a divorce was pronounced by a majority of seven to five. The day before the sentence of divorce was pronounced Sir Thomas Overbury died in his dungeon. His body was hastily and secretly buried in a pit dug within the walls of the Tower, and care was taken to circulate a report that he had died of an infectious and loathsome disease. But from the first it was generally whispered that he had been poisoned. On the 4th of November, in order that the Countess of Essex should not lose rank by marrying his favourite, James created Rochester Earl of Somerset. The marriage ceremony was performed on the 26th of December, in the Royal Chapel at Whitehall, in the presence of the king and queen, Prince Charles, and a great confluence of the bishops and temporal nobility. The countess appeared in the costume of a virgin bride, with her hair hanging in loose curls down to her waist. James Montague, bishop of Bath and Wells, the king's favourite bishop, and afterwards the editor of his works, united the hands of the guilty pair, and pronounced the nuptial benediction; and Dr. Mountain, dean of Westminster, preached the marriage sermon. At night there was a gallant masque got up by the lords of the court. "The glorious days were seconded with as glorious nights, where masques and dancings had a continued motion; the king naturally affecting such highflying pastimes and banquetings as might wrap up his spirit, and keep it from descending towards earthly things."* In all things this shameful marriage, which insulted and shocked the moral feelings of the people, was celebrated with far more pomp and parade than that of the king's own daughter. The Puritans, who were wont to declaim against all shows and sports whatsoever, found in these doings an inexhaustible subject for reproach and invective. The countess, the

* Wilson.

favourite, the bishops, the king himself, all came in for their share of opprobium; and the people generally, whether Puritans, churchmen, or Papists, regarded the triumph of profligacy with disgust, horror, and wrath. And all this time James kept trumpeting louder and louder that he was a heaven-made king, and that the duty of his subjects was a passive obedience in all things to his absolute and infallible will. But the pinching of pecuniary embarrassment must have reminded him continually that he was of the earth, earthy; and the course of life he led was fatal to any great reverence on the part of his subjects.

A.D. 1614.—Since the dissolution of parliament in 1611, James had attempted, as usual, to raise loans by writs under the great seal; but the merchants to whom he principally applied refused him the accommodation. He opened a market for the sale of honours; sold several peerages for large sums; and created a new order of knights called baronets, whose honours were hereditary, and who paid 1000*l.* each for their patents under the great seal. He still continued giving with as lavish a hand as ever to these servants, by which must be understood his favourites and courtiers, for the true servants of the state were often left unpaid, and told that they must support themselves on their private patrimonies. Such as obtained the higher employments paid themselves by means of bribes and peculations. These places were generally sold to the highest bidders by the minion Somerset and the noble Howards. Thus, Sir Fulke Greville obtained the Chancellorship of the Exchequer for the sum of 4000*l.*, which he paid to Lady Suffolk, now the favourite's mother-in-law.*

The States of Holland had neither paid principal nor interest of their debt. Some of the ministers proposed adopting bold and decisive measures, in order to obtain this money, but James was too timid to follow their advice; and as his exchequer was bare and his credit exhausted, he reluctantly made up his mind to meet par-

* Birch, Negotiations.

liament once more. It appears that even at this extremity he would have avoided a parliament had it not been for Bacon, who was now attorney-general, and high in the royal favour, from which his rival, Coke, had wonderfully declined. Bacon, who had drawn up a regular plan for managing the House of Commons, assured the king that the chief leaders of the late opposition, such as Neville, Yelverton, Hyde, Crew, and Sir Dudley Digges, had been won over to the court; that much might be done by forethought towards filling the House of Commons with persons well affected to his majesty, winning or blinding the lawyers, the *literæ vocales* of the House, and drawing the country gentlemen, the merchants, the courtiers, to act with one accord for the king's advantage. But Bacon told James, at the same time, that it would be expedient to tender voluntarily certain graces and modifications of the prerogative, such as might with smallest injury be conceded.* This advice was seconded by Sir Henry Neville, a place-hunter, as ambitious a man as Bacon, and scarcely more honest. In a well-written memorial, he suggested to his majesty that he should consider what had been demanded by the Commons, and what promised by the crown during the last session; that he should grant now the more reasonable of the Commons' requests, and keep all the promises which he had actually made; that he should avoid irritating speeches to his parliament, and make a show of confidence in their good affections.† Upon these conditions, and under this system, they *undertook* to manage the Commons (the Lords had long been tame enough), and carry the king triumphantly through parliament to abundant votes of the public money; and hence they were called *undertakers*. James, in his embarrassments, acceded to the plan, and Somerset put himself at the head of it with Bacon and Neville.‡ On the 5th of April, 1614, the king opened

* Original MSS. in the possession of Mr. Hallam, as quoted by him in Const. Hist.

† Carte.

‡ Arthur Wilson says, "Yet there was a generation about the court, that to please and humour greatness, *undertook* a

the session with a conciliatory speech, descanting on the alarming growth of Popery (he knew a little persecution would please them well), and on his zeal for the true religion; and then he told them how much he was in want of money, and how many graces he intended for them in this present session. But the Commons would not be cajoled: they passed at once to the great grievance—the customs at the outports and impositions by prerogative. "And such faces appeared there as made the court droop." Some of the courtiers and members returned or won over by the "undertakers," made a faint effort, but their voice was drowned, and died away in a helpless murmur about the hereditary right of kings to tax their subjects as they list. The Commons demanded a conference on this momentous subject with the Lords. The Lords hesitated, and consulted with the judges. Before the opinion of the latter was known, the Commons objected to the way in which several members had been elected, and they went nigh to expel the attorney-general, Bacon. Coke, who had attained to the chief justiceship of the King's Bench, who could hope for no higher promotion, and who was irritated into something like patriotism by his hatred of Bacon and the ill-usage he had received from the court, after a private consultation with the rest of the judges, declined giving any opinion to the Lords touching the legality of impositions on merchandise by prerogative, because it was proper that he and his brethren, who were to speak judicially between the king and his subjects, should be disputants in no cause on any side. The Lords, who had expected a very different answer, now declined the conference; and Neyle, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, who, for the share he had taken in the Countess of Essex's divorce, had been recently translated to the see of Lincoln, rose in his place, and

parliament, as men presuming to have friends in every county and borough, who by their power among the people, would make election of such members for knights and burgesses as should comply solely to the king's desires; and Somerset is the head and chief of these *undertakers*. But this was but an embrion, and became an abortive."

said that the Commons were striking at the root of the prerogative, and that, if admitted to conference, they might proceed to undutiful and seditious speeches, unfit for the ears of their lordships. This Neyle was one of the worst of James's bench of bishops, and an object of detestation to the Puritans, whom he had harassed and persecuted. The Commons fell upon him in a fury, and demanded reparation; for the practice did not yet obtain of one House of Parliament supposing itself ignorant of what is done or said in the other House. The bishop instantly changed his tone, excused himself, and, with many tears, denied the most offensive of the words which had been attributed to him. By this time James must have discovered that the *undertakers* had engaged for more than they could accomplish. Indeed, the discovery of this scheme, which was made public before the meeting of parliament, contributed to the ill-humour of the Lower House. James, in his opening speech, positively denied that there was any such plan entertained, protesting that, "for *undertakers*, he never was so base to call, or rely on any;" and Bacon had pretended to laugh at the notion that private men should undertake for the Commons of England. A few days after, Sir Henry Neville's memorial to the king was read at full length in the House, and at the opening of the Session of 1621 James himself *expressly confessed that there had been such a scheme.* Seeing no likelihood of the despatch of the business for which alone he had summoned them, James sent a message, that if they further delayed voting supplies he would dissolve parliament. The Commons, in reply, stated that they would vote no supplies till their grievances should be redressed. It is said, on a questionable authority, that he then sent for the Commons, and tore all their bills before their faces in Whitehall; but, whatever was James's indiscretion, his cowardice would be likely to prevent such an offensive and violent act. What is certain, however, is, that he carried his threat into execution on the 7th of June, and, on the following morning, committed five of the members to the Tower, for "licentiousness of speech." At the time of this hasty and

angry dissolution, the parliament had sat two months and two days, but had not passed a single bill. It was afterwards called the Addle Parliament; but few parliaments did more towards the proper establishment of the rights of the Commons.*

For the next six years James depended upon most uncertain, and, for the greater part, most illegal means. People were dragged into the Star Chamber on all kinds of accusations, that they might be sentenced to pay enormous fines to the king; monopolies and privileges were invented and sold, and the odious benevolences were brought again into full play; and such as would not contribute had their names returned to the privy council. Mr. Oliver St. John, who put himself in this predicament, who explained his reasons in writing like a lawyer and statesman,† and who did not spare the king, was sentenced by the Star Chamber to a fine of 5000*l.*, and to be imprisoned during the royal pleasure. But greatly as James wanted money, he was of himself disposed to be much less severe against those who refused it than against those who questioned his divine right in the abstract, or censured his kingly conduct. There was one Edmond Peachum, a minister of the gospel, in Somersetshire, who probably first attracted attention by preaching puritanically. His study was suddenly broken open, and in it was found a manuscript sermon, which had never been preached, sharply censuring the king's extravagance and love of dogs, dances, banquets, and costly dresses, and complaining of the frauds and oppressions practised by his government and officers. The poor old man was seized, dragged up to London, and committed to the Tower. There he was examined by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, the Earls of Suffolk and Worcester, Sir Ralph Winwood, the Lord Chief Justice Coke, and others, touching his motives, advisers, and instructors. "I find not the man," wrote Winwood, "to be, as was related, stupid or dull, but to be

* Journals of the Lords and Commons.—Harrington, Nug. Ant.—Reliq. Wott.—Coke.—Wilson.—Carte.—Hallam.

† See his letter in Cabala.

full of malace and craft."* James, who in such cases would always read the law in his own way, insisted that the offence amounted to high treason, and taking up his pen, he drew out for the instruction of his ministers and judges what he called "The true state of the question."† But Coke, who had not always been so scrupulous, who, before the tide of his favour was on the ebb, had concurred and co-operated in many arbitrary measures, maintained that the offence might be a criminal slander, but did not amount to treason. On the next horrible examination of the prisoner, Coke was not present; but his rival Bacon was there, in his stead, and an assenting witness to the atrocities committed. Twelve interrogatories were put to the preacher, who, according to the horribly concise expression of Secretary Winwood, in his report, was examined upon them, "before torture, in torture, between torture, and after torture." Notwithstanding," continues Winwood, "nothing could be drawn from him, he still persisting in his obstinate and insensible denials and former answer." Some two months after, the poor captive changed his key somewhat, but still he would make no confession likely to bring any one into trouble; and, in the end, he would not sign this examination, which was taken before Bacon, Crew, and two other lawyers. In the absence, therefore, of all other evidence, James resolved that the manuscript unpreached sermon should be taken as the overt act of treason. And he called in the willing Bacon to smooth the legal difficulties to this strange course. Bacon conferred with the judges one by one, and found them *all* ready to be as base as himself, except only Coke, who objected that "such particular, and, as he called it, auricular taking of opinions (from the judges) was not according to the custom of this realm." This resistance to his infallibility stung James to the quick, and prepared,

* Letter from Secretary Winwood to a lord about King James's person, in Dalrymple (Lord Hailes), Memorials, &c.

† Id. The original of this precious performance is preserved in James's own hand-writing.

perhaps more than any other single circumstance, the triumph of Bacon over his great rival. In the end Coke, finding himself standing alone, consented to give some opinions in writing; but these were evasive, and did not lend the king the confirmation of his high legal authority. "As Judge Hobart, that rode the western circuit; was drawn to jump with his colleague, the chief baron, Peachum was sent down to be tried and trussed up in Somersetshire," where the overt act of writing the libel was supposed to have been committed. The poor old preacher was accordingly condemned for high treason, on the 7th of August, 1615. They did not, however, proceed to execution, and Peachum died a few months after in Taunton gaol. This has been considered as the worst and most tyrannical act of James's reign; but there are others not at all inferior in violence and illegality. Those writers who consider this reign as an amusing farce, and nothing worse, appear to have forgotten such incidents.

On the 15th of June, 1614, about a week after the dissolution of the Addle Parliament, the Earl of Northampton, the grand-uncle of Somerset's wife, and the most crafty statesman of that faction, departed this life. His nephew, the Earl of Suffolk, and the favourite, divided his places between them, or filled them up with their own creatures; but his death was a fatal blow to their interests; for they neither had his cunning or ability themselves, nor could procure it in any of their allies and dependants. But they might have maintained their ascendancy, had it not been for the appearance at court of another beautiful young man, and for the declining spirits of the actual favourite. Somerset, guilty as he was, was no hardened or heartless sinner. From the time of the death of his friend Overbury a cloud settled upon his brow; his vivacity and good humour departed from him; he neglected his dress and person, and became absent-minded, moody, and morose, even when in the king's company. All the courtiers, who envied him and the Howards, were on the watch, and as James grew sick of his old minion they threw a new one in

his way. This was George Villiers, the youngest son of Sir Edward Villiers, of Brookesby, in Leicestershire, by his second wife, a poor and portionless but very beautiful woman. George, who appears, at least for a short time, to have been brought up expressly for the situation he succeeded in obtaining, was sent over to Paris, where he acquired the same accomplishments which had so fascinated the king in the Scottish youth, Robert Carr. When he appeared at the English court he had all these French graces, a fine suit of French clothes on his back, and an allowance of 50*l.* a-year from his widowed mother. James was enchanted, and in a few weeks or days young Villiers was installed as his majesty's cup-bearer. He was tall, finely proportioned, far more handsome—or so thought the king—than ever Somerset had been, and, unlike that now careworn favourite, his face was always dressed in smiles. Soon after there was a great but private supper-entertainment at Baynard's Castle, at which the noble Herberts, Seymours, Russells, and other courtiers of high name, devised how they should get Somerset wholly out of favour and office, and put George Villiers in his place.* Their only difficulty was to induce the queen to enter into their plot, for they knew "that the king would never admit any to nearness about himself but such as the queen should commend to him; that if she should complain afterwards of *the dear* one, he might make answer, it is along of yourself, for you commended him unto me."† Now, though her majesty queen Anne hated Somerset, she had seen Villiers, and did not like him. To remove this feeling of the queen's, to labour for the substitution of one base minion for another, was thought a duty not unsuitable to the primate of the English church; and Archbishop Abbot, in his animosity to Somerset, undercordi at the request of the noble lords. In the end, his importunities of the primate prevailed; but Anne

* Letter from Quinariæ (written by William Saunderson, James's person, in James I. See Harris, Life of James

† Id. The origin).

served in James's own words. See Rushworth.

told him that they should all live to repent what they were doing in advancing this new minion.* On St. George's feast, April 24th, 1615, his onomastic day, the young cup-bearer was sworn a gentleman of the privy chamber, with a salary of a thousand pounds a year; and on the next day he was knighted. The doom of Somerset was now sealed; his enemies had chuckled over the success of their scheme, and the most timid saw that there would no longer be any danger in accusing the favourite of a horrible crime which had long been imputed to him by the people. He was not so blind to his danger as court favourites have usually been; and before any proceedings were instituted against him he endeavoured to procure a general pardon to secure him in his life and property. Sir Robert Cotton drew one out, "as large and general as could be," wherein the king was made to declare, "that, of his own motion and special favour, he did pardon all, and all manner of treasons, misprisions of treasons, murders, felonies, and outrages whatsoever, by the Earl of Somerset committed, or hereafter to be committed."† James, hoping thereby to rid himself for ever of his disagreeable importunities, approved of the document most heartily; but the Chancellor Ellesmere refused to put the great seal to it, alleging that such an act would subject him to a premunire.

Secretary Winwood is said to have been the first to declare to James that the Countess of Essex and Somerset had caused Sir Thomas Overbury to be poisoned. When James privately summoned Elwes, the lieutenant of the Tower, into his presence, and questioned and cross-questioned him, he was fully convinced of the fact; but he still kept the earl about his person, concealed all

* Rushworth.—R. Coke.

† Such pardons, or pardons very like them, had been sometimes granted in other cases. Several ministers had obtained them as a security against the malice of their enemies, when their fall should come, and also as a security for doing the will of their sovereign in an illegal or unconstitutional manner. Wolsey had obtained a similar pardon from Henry VIII.

he knew, and even simulated a return of his former warm affection. He went to hunt at Royston, and took Somerset with him. There, as he seemed "rather in his rising than setting," he was attached by the warrant of the Lord Chief Justice Coke, who, however, had refused to proceed until James had joined several others in commission with him. "The king had a loathsome way of lolling his arms about his favourites' necks, and kissing them; and in this posture Coke's messenger found the king with Somerset, James then saying, 'When shall I see thee again?—When shall I see thee again?'" When Somerset got the warrant in the royal presence, he exclaimed, that never had such an affront been offered to a peer of England. "Nay, man," said the king wheedlingly, "if Coke sends for *me*, I must go;" and as soon as Somerset was gone he added, "Now the devil go with thee, for I will never see thy face more!" This was at ten o'clock in the morning. About three in the afternoon the lord chief justice arrived at Royston, and to him James complained that Somerset and his wife had made him a go-between in their adultery and murder. He commanded him, with all the scrutiny possible, to search into the bottom of the foul conspiracy, and to spare no man how great soever. And, in conclusion, he said to Coke, "God's curse be upon you and yours, if you spare any of them; and God's curse be upon me and mine, if I pardon any of them!"*

Coke, who had many motives besides the love of justice, was not idle. He had owed many previous obligations to Somerset; but he saw that earl could never again be of use to him. He and his brother commissioners took three hundred examinations, and then reported to the king that Frances Howard, some time countess of Essex, had employed sorcery to incapacitate her lawful husband, Essex, and to win the love of Rochester; that afterwards she and her lover, and her uncle, the late Earl of Northampton, had, by their joint contrivance, obtained the committal of Sir Thomas Overbury, the appointment of their creature Elwes to be lieu-

* Rushworth.—R. Coke.

tenant of the Tower, and one Weston to be warden or keeper of the prisoner; and, further, that the Countess, by the aid of Mrs. Turner, had procured three kinds of poison from Franklin, an apothecary, and that Weston, the warder or keeper, had administered these poisons to Sir Thomas. Coke had also obtained possession of many note-books and letters; and from a passage in a letter from Overbury to Somerset, alluding to the *secrets* of the latter, he pretended to derive proof that these secrets must have been of a treasonable nature; and he ventured thereupon to charge the earl with having *poisoned Prince Henry!* In reality there was nothing in Overbury's letter which could bear this construction; Sir Thomas merely said that he had written a history of his confidential connexion with the favourite (Somerset), from which his friends might see the extent of that man's ingratitude. The queen, however, entered into Coke's view of the case, and openly declared that she had no doubt of the murder of her eldest son. But the king discouraged this interpretation, and only believed, or pretended to believe, that, in addition to his guilt in being an accomplice in the poisoning of Overbury, Somerset had received bribes from Spain, and had engaged to place Prince Charles in the hands of that court.

Weston, the warder, who had been servant to Franklin, the apothecary who furnished the poison, had been arrested and examined at the first opening of these proceedings, and the countess and all the other guilty parties were secured without any difficulty; for not one of them suspected what was coming. Weston at first stood mute, but his obstinacy gave way to Coke's threats of the *peine forte et dure*, and to the exhortations of Dr. King, bishop of London, and he consented to plead. But even then he pleaded not guilty, and so did Mrs. Turner, Franklin the apothecary, and Elwes the lieutenant of the Tower. Their trials disclosed a monstrous medley of profligacy and superstition; and what seems almost equally monstrous is the fact that the learned Coke, the other judges, and all the spectators believed in the force of astrology and witchcraft, and considered the credulity

of two frantic women as the most damnable of their crimes. Mrs. Turner, now the widow of a physician of that name, had been in her youth a dependant in the house of the Earl of Suffolk, and a companion to his beautiful daughter Frances Howard, who contracted a friendship for her which survived their separation. As certain vices, not unknown in the court of the virgin queen, had become common and barefaced in that of her successor, it would not be fair to attribute the demoralization of the Lady Frances solely to her connexion with this dangerous woman; though it should appear that she led her into the worst of her crimes, and found her the means of executing them. When they renewed their intimacy in London, the Lady Frances was the unwilling wife of Essex, and enamoured of the favourite Rochester. Mrs. Turner had had her illicit amours also; and believing, as most ladies then believed, in the efficacy of spells and love philters, she had found out one Dr. Forman, a great conjurer, living in Lambeth, and who was frequently consulted by court dames and people of the best quality. Forman engaged to make Sir Arthur Mainwaring love Mrs. Turner as much as she loved him; and soon after Sir Arthur travelled many miles by night, and through a terrible storm, to visit the widow. Instead of ascribing this passion to her own personal charms,—and she was a most beautiful woman,—she attributed it entirely to the charms of the conjurer at Lambeth. All this she told to the amorous Lady Essex, who, anxious for a like spell upon Rochester, went with her to the house of Dr. Forman. Like Mrs. Turner, the fair countess thought her beauty less potent than his incantations. She was grateful to him for the favourite's love, and frequently visited him afterwards with Mrs. Turner, calling him "father!" and "very dear father!" It appeared, also, that the countess had secret meetings with Rochester at the house in Lambeth. The wizard was since dead, but they produced in court some of the countess's letters to him, in which she styled him "sweet father!" and some of his magical apparatus, as pictures, puppets, enchanted papers and magic spells, which made

the prisoners appear the more odious, as being thus known to have had dealings with witches and wizards. At this point of the proceedings in court, a loud crack was heard from the gallery, which caused great fear, tumult, and confusion among the spectators and throughout the hall, every one fearing hurt, as if the devil had been present, and grown angry to have his workmanship shown by such as were not his own scholars. There was also produced a list on parchment, written by Forman, signifying "what ladies loved what lords" in the court. The Lord Chief Justice Coke grasped this startling document, glanced his eye over it, and then insisted that it should not be read. People immediately said that the first name on the list was that of Coke's own wife, the Lady Hatton. It was further proved—though in some respects the evidence seems to have been such as would not satisfy a modern jury—that Weston had once lived as a servant with Mrs. Turner, who had recommended him to the countess; that it was at the request of the countess and her uncle Northampton, communicated through her friend Sir Thomas Monson, chief falconer, that Elwes, the lieutenant of the Tower, had received him as warder, and placed him over Sir Thomas Overbury; that Weston administered the poison, which was of several kinds, and procured from his former master Franklin, in Sir Thomas's medicines, soups, and other food; that he, Weston, had told his employers that he had given him poison enough to kill twenty men, administering it in small doses at a time through a course of several months; and that Somerset had commanded, through the Earl of Northampton, that the body of the victim should be buried immediately after his death. Franklin, the apothecary, made a full confession, in the vain hope of saving his own neck; Weston also confessed the murder, and many particulars connected with it. Coke pronounced sentence of death upon all these minor criminals. As Weston was on the scaffold at Tyburn, Sir John Holles and Sir John Wentworth, with other devoted friends of the fallen Somerset, rode up to the gallows, and endeavoured to make him retract his confession; but

the miserable man merely said, "Fact, or no fact, I die worthily!"—and so was hanged. Elwes, the lieutenant of the Tower, who had made a stout defence on the trial, confessed all on the scaffold, and ascribed his misfortune to his having broken a solemn vow he had once made against gambling. The fate of the beautiful Mrs. Turner excited the most interest. Many women of fashion, as well as men, went in their coaches to Tyburn to see her die. She came to the scaffold rouged and dressed, as if for a ball, with a ruff, stiffened with yellow starch, round her neck; but otherwise she made a very penitent end.*

Both Coke and Bacon eulogised the righteous zeal of the king for the impartial execution of justice; but their praise was at the least premature. James betrayed great uneasiness on hearing that his chief falconer, Sir Thomas Monson, was implicated, and would probably "play an unwelcomed card on his trial." And when Monson was arraigned, some yeomen of the guard, acting under the king's private orders, to the astonishment and indignation of the public, carried him from the bar to the Tower. After a brief interval he was released from that confinement, and allowed not only to go at large, but also to retain some place about the court.†

As for the trial of the great offenders, the Earl and Countess of Somerset, it was delayed for many months. The delay was imputed for a time to the necessity of waiting for the return of John Digby, the ambassador at Madrid, afterwards Baron Digby and Earl of Bristol, who, it was said, could substantiate the late favourite's treasonable dealings with the Spanish court; but when Digby came, he could do nothing of the sort; and everything tends to prove that James had all along a dread of bringing Somerset to trial. Even from the documents

* Mrs. Turner had introduced yellow starched ruffs, &c. The fashion went out with her exit at Tyburn.

† Roger Coke, the author of the Detection, and the grandson of the great Coke, says that the Lord Chief Justice, Judge Dodridge, and Judge Hyde, declared Sir Thomas Monson to be as guilty of the murder as any of the others.

which remain, we may see the king's unceasing anxiety, and a system of trick and manœuvre almost unparalleled, which cannot possibly admit of any other interpretation than this;—Somerset was possessed of some dreadful secret, the disclosure of which would have been fatal to the king. The two prisoners, who were kept separate, were constantly beset by ingenious messengers from court, who assured them that, if they would only confess their guilt, all would go well,—that they would have the royal pardon to secure them in their lives and estates. Nay, more, there was held out to Somerset, "indirectly as it were, a glimmering of his majesty's benign intention to reinstate him in all his former favour." When we mention that James's chief messenger and agent was Bacon, it will be understood that the business was ably done, and that the hopes and fears of the prisoners were agitated with a powerful hand.* The countess, after much pains had been taken with her, confessed her guilt; but Somerset resisted every attempt, most solemnly protesting his innocence of the murder of Overbury. He earnestly implored to be admitted to the king's presence, saying that, in a quarter of an hour's private conversation, he could establish his innocence, and set the business at rest for ever. But James shrunk from this audience; and the prisoner's request to be allowed to forward a private letter to the king was denied him. Then Somerset threatened, instead of praying; declaring that, whenever he should be brought to the bar, he would reveal such things as his ungrateful sovereign would not like to hear. James Hay, afterwards Earl of Carlisle, the friend and countryman of Somerset, and other particular friends, were despatched from time to time by the trembling king to the Tower to work upon the prisoner; but though, in the end, something must have been done by such means, they for a long time produced no visible effect upon the resolution of the earl. When the confession of his wife was obtained (it did not materially bear against him), Bacon and the other commissioners, among whom were Coke and Chancellor

* Bacon's Works.—Cabala.—State Trials.

Ellesmere, told Somerset that his lady, being touched with remorse, had at last confessed all, and that she that led him to offend ought now, by her example, to lead him to repent of his offence; that the confession of one of them could not singly do either of them much good; but that the confession of both of them might work some further effect towards both; and that therefore they, the commissioners, wished him not to shut the gates of his majesty's mercy against himself by being obdurate any longer. But Somerset would not "come any degree farther on to confess; only his behaviour was very sober, and modest, and mild; but yet, as it seemed, resolved to expect his trial." Then they proceeded to examine him touching the death of Overbury; and they made this farther observation, that, "in the questions of the imprisonment," he was "very cool and modest;" but that, when they asked him "some questions that did touch the prince,* or some foreign practice" (which they did "*very sparingly*"), he "grew a little stirred."†

* It is by no means clear that Prince Henry is here alluded to. Bacon may possibly refer to the living prince, Charles, and the rumour of Somerset's undertaking to deliver him into the hands of the Spaniards. But it seems scarcely possible that Somerset should have betrayed agitation at an unfounded report. On a former examination, when, as we learn from Bacon himself, the charge was clearly that of a treasonable correspondence with Spain, Somerset showed no emotion whatever, merely saying that he had been too well rewarded by his majesty ever to think of Spain.—"If he (Prince Henry)," says Lord Dartmouth, in a note to Burnet's 'History of his Own Time' (i. 11), "was poisoned by the Earl of Somerset, it was not upon the account of religion, but for making love to the Countess of Essex; and that was what the Lord Chief Justice Coke meant, when he said, at the Earl of Somerset's trial, 'God knows what went with the good Prince Henry, but I have heard something.'"

† Bacon's Letter to the King in Cabala. In his postscript the wily attorney-general says,—"If it seem good unto your majesty, we think it not amiss some preacher (*well chosen*) had access to my Lord of Somerset, for his preparing and

James received a letter from the prisoner, but not a private one. The tone of the epistle was enigmatical, but bold, like that of a man writing to one over whom he had power.* In it Somerset again demanded a private interview; but James replied that this was a favour he might grant after, but not before, his trial.†

Bacon was intrusted with the legal management of the case, but he appears hardly to have taken a step without previously consulting the king, who postillated with his own hand the intended charges, and instructed the wily attorney-general so to manage matters in court as not to drive Somerset to desperation, or give (in his own words), "occasion for despair or flushes." He was perfectly well understood by Bacon, who undertook to have the prisoner found guilty before the peers without making him too odious to the people. The whole business of Bacon was to put people on a wrong scent, for the purpose of preventing Somerset from making any dangerous disclosure, and the other judges from getting an insight into some iniquitous secret which it imported the king to conceal. On the 24th of May, 1616, the countess was *separately* arraigned before the peers. The beautiful but guilty woman looked pale, and sick, and spiritless: she trembled excessively while the clerk read the indictment; she hid her face with her fan at mention of the name of Weston; and she wept and spoke with a voice scarcely audible when she pleaded guilty and threw herself on the royal mercy. As soon as this was done she was hurried from the bar, and then, when she was not present to say that her confession did not involve her husband, Bacon delivered a very artful speech, stating

comfort, although it be before his trial." From the whole tenor of this correspondence there can be no doubt whatever as to the sort of service Bacon would expect from this "well-chosen" preacher! Several of the letters about the old favourite are addressed by Bacon with slavish and disgusting protestations, to the new minion, Sir George Villiers.

* See the Letter in Somers's Tracts.

† Letter of James, in Archæologia.

the evidence he had to produce if she had made it necessary by pleading not guilty. After this speech the countess was recalled for a minute to the bar of the Lords to hear sentence of death, which was pronounced by the Chancellor Ellesmere, whom the king and Bacon, after long deliberation, had appointed High Steward for the trials. On the same day Somerset, who ought to have been tried with his wife, was warned by Sir George More, the present Lieutenant of the Tower, that he must stand his trial on the morrow. Owing to some causes not explained, but at which we may easily guess, the earl, who had before desired this, absolutely refused to go, telling the lieutenant that he should carry him by force in his bed; that the king had assured him he should never come to any trial, and that the king durst not bring him to trial. This language made More quiver and shake; . . . "yet away goes More to Greenwich, as late as it was, being twelve at night. and bounces up the back-stairs as if mad." The king, who was in bed, on hearing what the lieutenant had to say, fell into a passion of tears, and said, "On my soul, More, I wot not what to do! Thou art a wise man; help me in this great strait, and thou shalt find thou dost it for a thankful master."* "Returning to the Tower, the lieutenant told his prisoner that he had been with the king, and found him a most affectionate master unto him, and full of grace in his intentions towards him; but, said he, to satisfy justice, you must appear, although you return instantly again, without any further proceeding, only you shall know your enemies and their malice, though they shall have no power over you. With this trick of wit he allayed his fury, and got him quietly, about eight in the morning, to the Hall: yet feared his former bold language might revert again, and, being brought by this trick into the toil, might have more enraged him to fly out into some strange discovery. He had two servants placed

* Weldon says that Sir George More "was really rewarded with a suit worth to him 1500*l.*, although Annandale, his great friend, did cheat him of one-half; so was there falsehood in friendship."

on each side of him, with a cloak on their arms, giving them a peremptory order, if that Somerset did any way fly out on the king, they should instantly hoodwink him with that cloak, take him violently from the bar, and carry him away; for which he would secure them from any danger, and they should not want also a bountiful reward."*

Somerset, however, when brought to the bar of the Lords, was in a very composed easy humour, which Bacon took good care not to disturb by any of those invectives that were usually employed against prisoners. He abstained, he said, from such things by the king's order, though of himself he were indisposed to blazen his name in blood.† He handled the case most tenderly, never urging the guilt of Somerset without bringing forward the hope or assurance of the royal mercy. But the prisoner, who displayed far more ability than he had ever been supposed to possess, though he abstained from any accusations or out-pourings of wrath against James, was not willing to submit to a verdict of guilty, however sure of a pardon. He maintained his innocence, and defended himself so ably that the trial lasted eleven hours. In the end the peers unanimously pronounced him guilty. He then prayed them to be intercessors for him with the king, adding, however, words which meant

* Weldon. The lieutenant of the Tower may have thought of providing the two sentinels and the hood-winking cloaks, but all the rest had *certainly* been suggested beforehand by Bacon, in a "Particular Remembrance for his Majesty." "It were good," says this miracle of genius and profligacy, "that after he is come into the hall, so that he may perceive he must go to trial, and shall be retired to the place appointed till the court call for him, then the lieutenant shall tell him roundly that if in his speeches he shall tax the king, that the justice of England is that he shall be taken away, and the evidence shall go on without him; and then all the people will cry, 'Away with him!' and then it shall not be in the king's will to save his life, the people will be so set on fire."—*State Trials.*

† This was a hint at Coke, who was a terrible dealer in invectives.

that he thought that it would hardly be needed. "But who had seen the king's restless motion all that day, sending to every boat he saw landing at the bridge, cursing all that came without tidings, would have easily judged all was not right, and that there had been some grounds for his fears of Somerset's boldness; but at last, one bringing him word he was condemned, and the passages, all was quiet."* A few weeks after sentence James granted a pardon to the countess, "because the process and judgment against her were not of a principal, but as of an accessory before the fact." A like pardon was offered to the earl, who said that he, as an innocent and injured man, expected a reversal of the judgment pronounced by the peers. After a few years' imprisonment, Somerset and his lady retired into the country, —there, as it is said, to reproach and hate one another. The king would not permit the earl's arms to be reversed and kicked out of the chapel of Windsor; and upon his account it was ordered "that felony should not be reckoned amongst the disgraces for those who were to be excluded from the Order of St. George, which was without precedent."† Further, to keep the discarded favourite and depository of royal mysteries from desperation, he was allowed for life the then splendid income of 4000*l.* a-year. Considering the power of money and the baseness of the age, we are inclined to doubt the oratorical accounts of the loneliness and abandonment into which he fell. The countess died in 1632, in the reign of Charles I.; the earl, who survived her thir-

* Weldon. Old Sir Anthony's pen was no doubt occasionally dipped in gall, but his account of these transactions, which he says he and a friend had from Sir George More's own mouth *verbatim* in Wanstead Park, after being long ascribed to his libellous spirit and hatred of James, has received the most complete confirmation by some letters from More himself, published in the Archæologia, vol. xviii. When he is found so veracious in one important particular, it may be questioned whether Weldon has not been unfairly doubted in others.

† Camden, Annals of King James.

teen years, will reappear on the scene towards the close of the present reign. Their daughter, an only child, the Lady Anne Carr, who was born in the Tower, was married to William, fifth Earl, and afterwards first Duke, of Bedford, by whom she had many children, one of whom was the celebrated Lord Russell, who died on the scaffold in the time of Charles II. She is described as a lady of great honour and virtue: and it is said that her mother's history was so carefully concealed from her, that she knew nothing of the story of the divorce of Lady Essex until a year or two before her death.* The ill-used Earl of Essex will appear hereafter, and most conspicuously, as the leader of the parliament army against the unfortunate successor of King James.

It should appear that the services of Bacon in the Overbury and Somerset case secured his triumph over his rival. Coke, however, had long been hated by the king, and in his irritation thereat he took an independent, and what might otherwise have been a patriotic course in administering the law. Many things had made the Lord Chief Justice totter in his seat, but a dispute with Villiers, the new favourite, about a patent place at court, a dispute with the king about bishoprics and commendams, and the ingenious malice of Bacon, who had James's ear, laid him prostrate at last. By the advice of Bacon, he was called before the council: the other judges had all been there before him, to kneel to the king and ask pardon for attempting to act according to law. Bacon, Ellesmere, and Abbot the primate had been employed for some time in collecting charges against him. Coke was accused of concealing a debt of 12,000*l.* due to the crown by the late Chancellor Hatton; of uttering on the bench words of very high contempt, saying that the common law would be overthrown, wherein he reflected upon the king; and, thirdly, of uncivil and indiscreet carriage in the matter of commendams. Coke repelled the charge about the money, and he afterwards obtained a legal decision in his favour:

* Oldmixon.

without denying his words on the bench, he palliated the second charge; to the third he confessed, and prayed forgiveness. The king ordered him to appear a second time before the council, and then the proud lawyer was brought to his knees to hear the judgment of his royal master, which was, that he should keep away from the council-table, and not go the circuit, but employ himself in correcting the errors in his book of Reports. When Coke reported to the king that he could discover only five unimportant errors in his book, James chose to consider that he was proud and obstinate, and gave the chief justiceship to Montague, the Recorder of London. It is said that Coke, on receiving his *supersedeas*, wept like a child.

Prince Charles, now created Prince of Wales, was in his seventeenth year, and the king had not yet succeeded in negotiating what he considered a suitable marriage for him. The religious feelings of his subjects, both in England and Scotland, were violently opposed to any Catholic match; but James's pride led him to prefer a family alliance with some one of the royal houses in Europe, and of those houses the greatest were all Catholic. Suspecting at last that the court of Spain had no intention to conclude any arrangement with him, he opened negotiations with that of France for the hand of Madame Christine, sister to the young King Louis XIII.; but, notwithstanding an extravagant and pompous embassy, the French court preferred an alliance with the Duke of Savoy. Shortly after the failure of this treaty Concini, marshal d'Ancre, a Florentine, who had accompanied the Queen Mother, Maria de' Medici into France, and who, since the death of Henry IV., had ruled the whole kingdom, was murdered on the drawbridge of the Louvre by Vitry, one of the captains of the body-guard. The deed was done in broad daylight by order of Louis, who had been kept in a state of subjection, and almost of bondage, by his mother's favourite. On the following day the people of Paris raised a cry against the excommunicated Jew and wizard; they dug up his body, which had been hastily buried,—dragged it through the streets,—hung it by the

heels on a gibbet on the Pont Neuf,—cut it up—burned part of it before the statue of Henry IV., and threw the rest into the Seine. The Parliament of Paris proceeded against the memory of the deceased favourite, declared him to have been guilty of treason both against God and the king,—condemned his wife to be beheaded, and her body afterwards burnt,—and declared his son to be ignoble and incapable of holding any property or place in France. In this strange process there was more talk of sorcery and devil-dealing than there had been on the trial of the murderers of Overbury; and it was pretended that monstrous proofs were discovered of the Judaism and magic of the wretched Florentine.

In the meanwhile James's new favourite, Villiers, was becoming far more powerful and mischievous than his predecessor, Somerset. The old Earl of Worcester was made to accept a pension and the honorary office of President of the Council, and to resign his place of Master of the Horse to the minion, who was now Viscount Villiers, and was soon after (on the 5th of January, 1617) created Earl of Buckingham. Bacon, who, on Villiers's first advancement, had written an elaborate treatise to show him how to demean himself in his post of prime favourite, got some reward at the same time.* The old Chancellor Ellesmere, who in moments of sickness had repeatedly complained of his great age, his griefs, and infirmities, but who, when the fit was past, had baffled the hopes of the attorney-general and had clung to his place, having been gratified with the title of Viscount Brackley in November, 1616, felt his end approaching in the month of February, formally resigned the seals in March, and died a fortnight after. James gave the seals, with the title of Lord Keeper, to Bacon, who had pledged himself to do the royal will in all things. The great philosopher, now in the fifty-fourth year of his age, was made giddy by his elevation: he rode to Westminster Hall on horseback, in a gown of rich purple satin, between the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Privy Seal, with a

* Cabala and Bacon's works.

splendid escort of lords, courtiers, judges, lawyers, law students, officers, and servants. He seemed inclined to rival the magnificence and finery of Buckingham, and, in the absence of that creature of the court, the fullest-blown fop was the head of the English law, the restorer of philosophy, the greatest wit, scholar, and scoundrel of his age.

When James took his leave of his loving subjects of Scotland, he had promised that he would gladden their hearts and eyes with his presence at least once every three years; but fourteen years had elapsed, and he had never been able to recross the Tweed. This was owing to his improvidence and consequent poverty. It would have been too much to expect the poor Scots to pay the expenses of his costly progress. But in the course of the preceding year (1616) he had restored the cautionary towns of Brill, Flushing, and Rammekens, to the Dutch for 2,700,000 florins, which was about one-third of the debt really owing to him.* This Dutch money enabled James to pay off some of his most pressing debts, and to raise on the first blush of his improved credit nearly 100,000*l.* at ten per cent. per annum, for his journey into Scotland. "He begins his journey with the spring, warming the country as he went with the glories of the court; taking such recreations by the way as might best beguile the days, and cut them shorter, but lengthen the nights (contrary to the seasons); for what with hawking, hunting, and horse-racing, the days quickly ran away; and the nights, with feasting, masking, and dancing, were the more extended."† At Berwick the king and his favourite, and his English courtiers, and jesters, were met by a numerous deputation of the Scottish nobility, who conducted them by slow stages to Edinburgh—for James loved to stop at every good house or sporting-

* Rymer. It appears that the English ministers and negotiators were bribed by the Dutch, who must, however, have known that James's wants would make him grasp at any offer of ready money. Peyton says that Secretary Winwood got 29,000*l.* from the States.

† Arthur Wilson.

ground that he came nigh. His chief object in visiting Scotland was, however, to effect the complete establishment of the episcopal form of church government, and to assimilate the religious worship of the two countries. Without the least spark of religious zeal or fanaticism, James was most determinately bent on the subversion of the Presbyterian system, the spirit and form of which he detested more than ever, as inimical to his notion of the divine right of kings, and their absolute supremacy over the church as well as state. From the time of his controversy with the English Puritans at Hampton Court, he had been devising how he should fully restore episcopacy in Scotland; and, by means of English money and the boldness and cunning of his principal minister there, Sir George Hume, afterwards earl of Dunbar, he had made some progress in this direction. The first blow was struck at the general assembly of the Scottish kirk in 1605. This assembly was arbitrarily prorogued by royal authority three times in rapid succession. A number of the clergy met at Aberdeen; their meeting was prohibited, but they proceeded to assert their rights, chose a moderator, fixed an assembly to be held in the course of that year, and then dissolved themselves, in compliance with an order from the privy council. Thirteen of the leading members were forthwith selected for fierce prosecution; and out of this number Welsh, Drury, and four other popular preachers, were convicted by the crown lawyers and a slavish jury of *high treason*. After a rigorous confinement, sentence of death was commuted into perpetual banishment. These conscientious men, whose fate would excite more sympathy if they had been themselves less intolerant, retired to the Protestant churches in France and Holland, whither they were soon followed by many voluntary exiles, who revered their doctrines, and who were scared by the approaching horns of the mitre. Soon after, the bishops, who had never altogether ceased to exist in name, were re-established in authority and in revenue—that is, to the extent of the power of James and his slavish court. These occupants of dilapidated sees, who were ready on all occasions to maintain

that it was a part of the royal prerogative to prescribe the religious faith and worship of the people, soon came into conflict with the Presbyterian clergy. Old Andrew Melvil, the successor of John Knox, James Melvil, his nephew, and six others, were summoned up to London, where James disputed with them about doctrine and practice. It is probable that the king did not treat them with more respect than he had treated the Puritans at Hampton Court; and old Melvil was made of firmer materials than those preachers. To the king his behaviour was respectful; but when he was interrogated by some Scottish lords he said, indignantly, "I am a free subject of Scotland—a free kingdom, that has laws and privileges of its own. By these I stand. No legal citation has been issued against me, nor are you and I in our own country, where such an inquisition, so oppressive as the present, is condemned by parliament." James, who had only invited them to a *free* conference, prohibited the return of the Scottish preachers to their own country, and insisted on their attending worship in his royal chapel, where they might hear the preaching of his courtly bishops. This made matters worse. The characters of the bishops most about court were not spotless, and their discourses seemed monstrously slavish to the proud Calvinists: nor did the rites and oblations of the chapel, the gilded altar, the chalices, the tapers, improve in their eyes upon a closer but a compulsory acquaintance. Old Andrew Melvil vented his feelings of disgust in a Latin epigram of six lines, in which he set down all these things as relics of the scarlet she-wolf of Rome.* The verses were shown to James, who summoned the author before his English privy council, where Andrew was so irritated that he burst forth into an invective against the whole Anglican church, and pulled or shook what he called the Romish rags of the Archbishop of Canterbury's surplice. For all these offences James arbitrarily committed him to the Tower of London, where he lay for four years. He was then liberated at the earnest prayer

* Calderwood.

of the Duke of Bouillon, but only upon condition that he should pass the remainder of his life in some foreign country. The venerable champion of Calvinism retired to Sedan, and died abroad in 1620. His nephew, James Melvil, was confined for life to Berwick, on the confines of his native country, where he died six years before his uncle. The other six Scottish preachers who had accompanied them to the *free* conference were banished to separate and remote districts in Scotland. To quiet the murmurs of the Presbyterian clergy,—to win them over to the bishops, whose indefinite powers the king continued to advance,—the Earl of Dunbar employed threats and bribes. Forty thousand marks were distributed among the members of an ecclesiastical convention summoned by royal authority, that met at Linlithgow, at the end of the year 1606, and appointed certain clergymen to be permanent moderators of the presbyteries within which they resided, and the bishops to be *ex officio* the moderators of the provincial synods. But the great body of the Scottish clergy—a spiritual republic—were incensed at this subversion of equality; they soon resumed their independence in the synods, and set aside the authority of the bishops as perpetual moderators. The synods were then, as seditious bodies, prohibited from assembling. In 1609 the Consistorial Courts, which at the Reformation had been given to civil judges, were restored to the bishops; and the Archbishop of Glasgow was created an extraordinary lord of session, in order to restore a spiritual intermixture to that high court of law, which had originally consisted of an equal number of temporal and spiritual judges. But this latter plan was stopped in the commencement, by the determination of James to establish a separate and paramount court, which, if he was so minded, he might fill entirely with bishops. The High Commission Court—the greatest grievance of the land—existed in England as a part or a result of the king's supremacy over the church; but in Scotland this supremacy had not yet been acknowledged, and no such court could be imposed with anything like a decent regard to law. Yet notwithstanding this fact,

and the violent repugnance of the people, James, in 1610, erected two courts of High Commission—one at St. Andrew's, the other at Glasgow,—more arbitrary, more absolute than the detestable court in London. And, as if the Scots did not already sufficiently hate the name of bishop, the Archbishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow were put at the head of these tyrannical courts, and it was declared that either of these prelates and four assistants should compose a quorum, from whose sentence there was no appeal. It was soon evident that an oppression of this kind must be enforced by troops of horse, as well as by bishops; but the peace-loving king would not see the inevitable result of his system.

An assembly of the kirk was held at Glasgow in June, 1610, for the purpose of confirming the authority of the bishops; and partly by the high exercise of authority, partly by a trick which kept away the bolder ministers, and partly by bribery, the primate obtained several important concessions. Then Dunbar, and some of the bishops, would have proceeded to the entire suppression of presbyteries; but the more prudent considered such a measure as dangerous or premature, and it was laid aside for the present. The packed clergy, however, solemnly recognised the king's ecclesiastic supremacy, and the right of bishops to ordain and induct to churches. Under the crafty and bold management of the Earl of Dunbar, the Scottish parliament confirmed and enlarged these decisions. Hitherto the Scottish prelates had not been consecrated by the imposition of prelatical hands; but, now, three of their number were summoned up to London to undergo that ceremony, and on their return they imposed their hands on the other Scottish bishops, who were thus presented to the scorning and incredulous people as legitimate successors of the apostles. These proceedings were soon followed by the death of the Earl of Dunbar, whose place, whether for the king or the bishops, was badly supplied by some of the kinsmen of Carr, earl of Somerset, who misruled Scotland till the downfal of that favourite.

In 1616, the year before James's visit, the Episcopa-

lians and the Presbyterians seem to have witnessed with equal satisfaction the barbarous execution of one Ogilvy, a Jesuit. Presently after James's arrival, in the month of June, 1617, a parliament assembled to establish the faith, and ceremonies, and discipline of the Scottish church. But by this time sundry of the lords, who were holders of lands which had formerly belonged to the bishoprics, began to be alarmed as to the security of those parts of their property. James disarmed their opposition by inviting these great nobles to a secret conference, wherein, it is generally supposed, he addressed himself to their most sensitive feelings, and promised that they should not be disturbed in any of their possessions. Forthwith an act was prepared to declare, "that, in ecclesiastical affairs, whatever should be determined by the king, with the advice of the prelates and a competent number of the clergy, should receive the operation and the force of law." This bill was brought suddenly into parliament, and passed there; and James was on the point of making it law in the Scottish manner, by touching it with the sceptre, when the clergy presented to parliament a loud and alarming protest against it. James trembled and hesitated; and, in the end, to save his honour, he pretended that it was idle to give him by statute that which was part of the inherent prerogative of the crown; and the bill was silently withdrawn. Another bill, assigning chapters to the different bishoprics, and regulating the methods to be followed in the election of bishops, appears to have passed without any sturdy opposition either in parliament or out of it. After a very short session parliament was dissolved, and James removed to St. Andrew's, to attend a great meeting of the clergy. There he caused Simpson, Ewart, and Calderwood, distinguished preachers, who had signed the late protest (which they were supposed to have penned), to be brought before the High Commission Court, and convicted of seditious behaviour. Simpson and Ewart were suspended and imprisoned; Calderwood, the most learned and most hated or feared of the three, was condemned to exile for life. The people soon began to consider these

victims of kingly and prelatical rage as martyrs, and bitterly did they avenge their wrongs on James's successor. But, now, that complacent sovereign proceeded to announce to the clergy assembled at St. Andrew's how they must forthwith transplant and adopt the ceremonies of the English church. It was his prerogative as a Christian king to command in these matters,—so he told the clergy,—nor would he regard their disapprobation or remonstrances; *but*, if they could convince him in fair theological disputation, then he might withdraw his ordinances. But the Scottish theologians were too wise to gratify the king with the field-day he desired. They knew all about his great victory at Hampton Court, and the result of his free conference with old Andrew Melvil; the fate of their three brethren, Simpson, Ewart, and Calderwood, was appalling; and so, instead of disputing or opposing the royal will, they fell on their knees and implored him to remit the five articles of the ceremonies to the consideration of a general assembly of the whole kirk. James at first turned a deaf ear to their prayer; but he graciously granted it when some minister or ministers assured him that matters would be so managed as to make the general assembly altogether submissive to his will. He, however, insisted on the immediate enforcement of some of the ceremonies at court; and he kept Whitsuntide in the English manner, surrounded by his applauding bishops and courtiers, whose knees and consciences were flexible. And from that time no man was admitted into any office or employment that would not kneel as ordered, and conform in the other particulars. James slowly wended his way back to England in all the pride of victory; but he was followed by the curses of the large majority of his Scottish subjects, who had not forgotten his former solemn pledges to maintain their church and their liberties, and who regarded him as an apostate, a renegade, and a faithless tyrant.*

During the king's absence in Scotland he had been greatly annoyed by the strict manner in which the Sab-

* Calderwood.—Malcolm Laing.

bath was kept by the Presbyterians. As he travelled southward he thought over these things, and no doubt talked of them too. In Lancashire, where the Catholics were numerous, and, it was said, increasing in numbers, petitions were presented to him complaining that the strictness of the Puritans in keeping the Sabbath, and putting down all manly exercises and harmless recreations, drove men to popery and the ale-house, where "they censured in their cups his majesty's proceedings in church and state." Being met by his hounds and hunters, James made his progress though the hunting counties, stopping at Sherwood Forest, Needwood, and all the other parks and forests in his way; but when he got to London he did not forget the Presbyterians or Puritans, and their observance of the Lord's day. Assisted by some of his chaplains and bishops, he prepared and put forth his Book of Sports, pointing out to the people with his usual minuteness what pastimes they might, and indeed ought to use, on Sabbath-days and festivals of the church,—what running, vaulting, archery, and morrice-dancing, what May-poles, church-ales, and other rejoicings, they might indulge in "upon Sundays, after evening prayers ended, and upon holidays." He prohibited, upon Sundays only, all bear and bull-baitings, interludes, and bowls; and he barred from the benefit and liberty of the other sports, "all such known recusants, either men or women," to quote the words of the declaration, "as will abstain from coming to church or divine service; being, therefore, unworthy of any lawful recreation after the said service, that will not first come to the church and serve God: prohibiting in like sort, the said recreations to any that, though conform in religion, are not present in the church, and the service of God, before their going to the recreations. It is quite certain that Abbot, the primate, disapproved of the whole measure, and thereby he increased the suspicion which attached to him at court of being a Puritan or precisian himself; and it is said that he positively refused to read the book in his own church of Croydon. But the other bishops were less bold, or less convinced that some amusements after

the celebration of divine service were so heinous; and the Book of Sports seems to have been generally read as appointed.

In many parts of the country, more particularly in the North, the peasantry, tired of the severities and gloom of the Puritanic Sabbath, which was that of Moses rather than that of Christ, fell readily into the spirit of the new law, and people again came from church with merry faces, and the village green again resounded on the Sunday evening with merry voices. But, except to the poor labourers in these parts, and to the high-church party, the measure was, in the highest degree, odious; and many people, who were not convinced, perhaps, that the Christian Sunday ought to be kept as the old Jewish Sabbath, refused to be merry and sportful upon compulsion, and thought it absurdly illegal that the king, of his own and sole authority, should issue such an ordinance. If nothing worse, the Book of Sports was a great political blunder, tending to increase ill-will and irritation. But for the present the murmurs of the Puritans were timid and subdued, and the full danger to royalty was not felt till the year 1633, when, by the advice of Laud, Charles I. revived his father's book, and tried to give it the force of law.

In departing for Scotland James had intrusted extraordinary powers to Lord Keeper Bacon, whose head was thereby turned more than ever, and who, during his majesty's absence, conducted himself in such a manner as to give mortal offence to most of the ministers and men of business that were left behind. According to a caustic reporter of his doings, he instantly began to believe himself king, to lie in the king's lodgings, to give audience in the great banqueting-house at Whitehall to ambassadors and others, to make the rest of the council attend his motions with the same state that the king was used to do, and to tell the counsellors when they sate with him for the despatch of business to know their proper distance. "Upon which," continues Weldon, "Secretary Winwood rose and went away, and would never sit more, but instantly despatched one to the king to desire him to

make haste back, for his seat was already usurped; at which, I remember, the king reading it unto us, both the king and we were very merry. . . . In this posture he lived until he heard the king was returning, and began to believe the play was almost at an end, he might personate a king's part no longer, and therefore did again re-invest himself with his old rags of baseness, which were so tattered and poor: at the king's coming to Windsor, he attended two days at Buckingham's chamber, being not admitted to any better place than the room where trencher-scrapers and lackeys attended; there, sitting upon an old wooden chest (amongst such as, for his baseness, were only fit for his companions, although the honour of his place did merit far more respect), with his purse and seal lying by him on that chest. . . . . After two days he had admittance: at his first entrance he fell down flat on his face at the duke's (earl's) foot, kissing it, and vowing never to rise till he had his pardon, and then was he again reconciled, and since that time so very a slave to the duke, and all that family, that he durst not deny the command of the meanest of the kindred, nor yet oppose anything: by which you see a base spirit is ever most concomitant with the proudest mind; and surely never so many brave parts and so base and abject a spirit tenanted together in any one earthen cottage as in this one man." But the great offence of Bacon, for which more than for anything else he was made to lick the dust at the minion's feet, was his conduct in an affair which closely concerned the "kindred" of the favourite. Coke, who in many things was not a whit more high-minded than his rival Bacon, perceiving the capital error he had committed in opposing the views of Buckingham, took up, by the advice of Secretary Winwood, a little family project which he thought would restore him to place, and give him again his old superiority over his rival. The ex-Lord Chief Justice of England had a marriageable daughter,—a young lady that was considered a great match,—for Coke had kept his money instead of spending it like Bacon, and his wife, the Lady Hatton, was very wealthy, from the lands and houses

which Elizabeth had bestowed on her handsome and dancing chamberlain and chancellor. One of the first uses made by Sir George Villiers of his high favour at court and of the influence of James, who was a prince very prevalent in such matters, was to secure rich wives for his poor brothers and kindred. His elder brother, John Villiers, afterwards created Viscount Purbeck, was proposed as a suitable husband for this young lady; but Coke then, being not sufficiently informed of court news, and not foreseeing the mighty destinies of the new favourite, rejected the proposal. But when he saw himself deprived of office and the favourite in the ascendant, he changed his tone, and before Buckingham's departure with the king for Scotland, he made a secret bargain to give his daughter, and to take place and honours in return. Bacon, a courtier to the backbone, soon discovered this secret compact, which boded him no good; but counting as well on his own great favour with the favourite and the king as on Coke's disfavour with the king, and relying on his own ready wit and talent for intrigue, he fondly fancied that he had conjured down this brewing storm, and made Buckingham and "the kindred" averse to the marriage. At the same time he had spirited on Coke's wife, who was always disposed to act in direct opposition to the wishes of her husband, whom she despised and hated with an intensity rare even in the matrimonial history of those days, to carry off her daughter and lodge her for safety in the house of her friend Sir Edward Withipole, near Oxford, and to conclude a written contract of marriage with Henry de Vere, Earl of Oxford, for whom it appears the young lady herself entertained some affection. Coke, in a fury, followed the fugitive, and recovered his daughter by force. Upon this the proud widow of Lord Hatton, the grand-daughter of the great Burleigh, carried her complaints before the privy council, where her ally for the occasion, the Lord Keeper Bacon, charged the disgraced chief justice with a flagrant breach of the peace, and countenanced Yelverton, the new attorney-general, in filing an information in the Star Chamber against Coke. Bacon would not

have gone thus far if he had not been convinced that the absent favourite had given up the scheme; but, to be doubly sure, he now wrote two letters to Scotland, one to Buckingham and one to the king. In the first, after treating the renewed scheme for the match between his brother, Sir John Villiers, and the young lady solely as a device of Coke and Winwood, he went on to tell him that many a better match, upon reasonable conditions, might be found; that the mother's consent to it was not had, "nor the young gentlewoman's, who expecteth a great fortune from her mother, which, without her consent, is endangered;" and that this match was altogether very inconvenient, both for his brother and himself. *Because*, "First, he shall marry into a disgraced house, which, in reason of state, is never held good. He shall marry into a troubled house of man and wife, which, in religion and Christian discretion, is disliked." "Your lordship," continues Bacon, "will go near to lose all such your friends as are adverse to Sir Edward Coke (myself only except, who, out of a pure love and thankfulness, shall ever be firm to you). And lastly and chiefly, believe it, it will greatly weaken and distract the king's service; for though, in regard of the king's great wisdom and depth, I am persuaded those things will not follow which they imagine, yet opinion will do a great deal of harm, and cast the king back, and make him relapse into those inconveniences which are now well on to be recovered." Therefore, according to Bacon, his lordship would gain a great deal of honour, if, according to religion and the law of God, he would think no more of this marriage for his elder brother. To the king Bacon begged to state his disinterested opinion in the business of this match, which he took to be *magnum in parvo*. After saying some bitter things to keep alive James's hatred of the ex-chief justice, he reminded him of his own servility, and how, by God's grace and his majesty's instructions, he had been made a servant according to his heart and hand. If, indeed, it was his majesty's desire that the match should go on, then, upon receiving his express will and commandment from him-

self, he would conform himself thereunto, imagining, though he would not wager on women's minds, that he could prevail more with the mother of the young lady than any other man. And then, returning to his attack on Coke, he begged the king to observe how much more quietly matters had gone on since that judge and minister had been in disgrace.* This letter went home to the bosom of James; but Buckingham, who now led him as he chose, was not only fully bent upon the marriage, but was intriguing, by means of which probably both Coke and Bacon were ignorant, to remove the violent objections of Coke's termagant wife. As for the affections of the young lady, they were things too trivial to enter into the consideration of any party. Thus, when the great philosopher brought down his glorious intellect to low cunning and matrimonial court intrigues, notwithstanding his boast of his great experience in the world, he could be outwitted by an ignorant stripling like Buckingham, to whom he had given the power of insulting him and degrading him in his own eyes. Buckingham wrote him a stinging letter, reproaching him with his pride and audacity, and giving him to understand that he who had made him could unmake him at his pleasure. James, taking the cue from his favourite, despatched an admonitory epistle of awful length, rating and scolding the mighty sage like a schoolboy. Upon this Bacon veered round and went before the wind. He stopped proceedings begun against Coke in the Star Chamber; sent for the attorney-general, and made him know that, since he had heard from court, he was resolved to further the match; sent also for my Lady Hatton and some other special friends, to let them know that they must not hope for his assistance in their disobedience to the young lady's father; wrote to the mother of Buckingham, to offer all his good offices for furthering the marriage; and addressed a humble letter of excuses and protestations to the favourite, telling him that his apprehension that this alliance would go near to lose him his lordship,

* Cabala.—Bacon's Works.

whom he held so dear, was the only respect particular to himself that had moved him to be as he was, till he had heard his lordship's pleasure. But all this was not enough; and about a month after writing this letter, Buckingham kept him in the hall among trencher-scrapers, and brought him to his feet. After the reconciliation at Windsor he wrote another base letter to thank the minion. The marriage now proceeded apace, the king driving at it as if the safety of the state depended upon its completion. Lady Hatton was confined and interrogated by the council instead of her husband; and Coke, to use his own expression, "got upon his wings again." The obstinacy of this dame yielded at last to the instances of the king, and the manœuvres of the favourite's mother, who was all-powerful at court, and who pretended a sudden friendship for her. She made a liberal settlement out of her own property upon her daughter; and in the month of September that unwilling fair one was dragged to the altar, in the Chapel Royal at Hampton Court, to marry a sickly idiot. A splendid feast, enlightened by the presence of royalty, was given soon after at Lady Hatton's house in Holborn; and to make it more absolutely her own, express orders were given by her ladyship, as was reported, that neither Sir Edward Coke nor any of his servants should be admitted.* The union, as might be expected, turned out a most wretched one; and this appears to have been the case with nearly all the matches promoted by James, who, in the matter of number, was one of the greatest of match-makers. The daughter of Coke became a profligate and an adultress;† and the crazy Sir John Villiers, created Viscount Purbeck about a year and a half after his marriage, became so mad that it was necessary to

* Strafford Papers.—It is said that Coke, on the day of this great feast, dined among the lawyers at the Temple.

† Mr. D'Israeli (Curiosities of Literature) says that Coke's daughter, Lady Purbeck, was condemned, as a wanton, to stand in a white sheet; but he does not give his authority for this assertion, which seems to be contradicted by published letters of the time.

place him in confinement. His brother Buckingham took charge of the property his young wife had brought him, and kept it, or spent it upon himself. But, after all, the selfish father of the victim,—the great lawyer,—was juggled by Buckingham and that courtly crew. As soon as the favourite saw the marriage completed and the dower safe, he felt a natural repugnance to risking favour by urging the suit of a bold-spoken, obnoxious man. Bacon, again in cordial alliance with Lady Hatton, who was most conjugally disposed to thwart and spite her husband in all things, administered daily to the king's antipathies; and all that Coke got by sacrificing his poor child was his restoration to a seat at the council-table,—a place where he was no match for his rival.

A.D. 1618.—On the 4th of January the supple lord keeper was converted into lord high chancellor, and in the month of July following he was created Baron Verulam. "And now Buckingham, having the chancellor or treasurer, and all great officers, his very slaves, swells in the height of pride, and summons up all his country kindred, the old countess providing a place for them to learn to carry themselves in a court-like garb." Rich heiresses, or daughters of noblemen, were soon provided as wives for his brothers, half-brothers, and cousins of the male gender. "And then must the women kindred be married to earls, earls' eldest sons, barons, or chief gentlemen of greatest estates; insomuch that his very female kindred were so numerous as sufficient to have peopled any plantation. . . . . So that King James, that naturally, in former times, hated women, had his lodgings replenished with them, and all of the kindred; . . . . and little children did run up and down the king's lodgings like little rabbits started about their burrows."*

People now looked back with regret to the days of Somerset, for that favourite had some decency, some moderation; and, if he trafficked in places and honours, he trafficked alone. But "the kindred," one and all, engaged in this lucrative business. The greatest trafficker,

* Weldon.

or most active broker, in the market, was the Old Countess, as Buckingham's mother, though not an old but very beautiful woman—and infamous as beautiful—was commonly called.* She sold peerages, and took money for all kinds of honours and promotions, whether in the army, navy, courts of law, or the church. There were plenty of purchasers not over-scrupulous as to the purity of the sources whence they derived their honours or titles; but, in some cases, wealthy men were forced into the market against their inclination, and made to pay for distinctions which they were wise enough not to covet. Thus one Richard Robartes, a rich merchant of Truro in the county of Cornwall, was compelled to accept the title of Baron Robartes of Truro, and to pay 10,000*l.* for it.† The titles that were not sold were given out of family considerations: one of the favourite's brothers, as already mentioned, was made Viscount Purbeck, another Earl of Anglesey; Fielding, who married the favourite's sister, was made Earl of Denbigh, and Fielding's brother Earl of Desmond in Ireland. Cranfield also "mounted to be Earl of Middlesex, from marrying one of Buckingham's kindred."‡ James, in one of his lengthy speeches delivered in the Star Chamber in 1616, complained that churchmen were had in too much contempt by people of all degrees, from the highest to the lowest; and yet, not-

* She was created Countess of Buckingham for life, in July, 1618.

† All the titles of that date, borne by the Spensers, the Fanes, the Petres, the Arundels, the Sackvilles, the Cavendishes, the Montagues, &c., were purchased *à poids d'or*, except those that were granted to the vilest favouritism. This practice also continued through the reign of Charles I., and was even more publicly acted upon as the necessities of the king and his courtiers rendered the sums of money so obtained the more necessary to them. Among the noble families who appear to owe their honours to these causes, may be mentioned the Stanhopes, Tuftons, and many others.—*Remarks on the Origin of the Families and Honours of the British Peerage, by the late Lord Dover.*

‡ Wilson.

withstanding the sharp criticisms of the Puritans, who were every day finding more reasons for reviling the whole hierarchy, he permitted his minion and "the kindred" to hold all the keys to church promotion, and to sell every turn of them to the highest bidder, or to give them as rewards to their companions and creatures.

In the course of this year the favourite was created a marquis, and as he expressed a desire for the post of lord high admiral, the brave old Howard, earl of Nottingham, the commander-in-chief of the fleets that had scattered the Spanish Armada, was obliged to accept a pension, and make room for the master of the horse, who was entirely ignorant of ships and sea affairs. To all these high offices were subsequently added those of Warden of the Cinque Ports, Chief Justice in Eyre of all the parks and forests south of Trent, Master of the King's Bench-office, High Steward of Westminster, and Constable of Windsor Castle. The doting, gloting king had taught Somerset Latin; Buckingham he attempted to teach divinity and prayer-writing, and these exercises appear prominently in a correspondence, for the most part too gross for quotation, wherein the favourite calls the king "dear dad and gossip," or "your sow-ship," and the king calls the favourite "Steenie."

This year Buckingham attacked the Earl of Suffolk, lord treasurer, and father-in-law of the disgraced Somerset—all the rest of that party had long since been dismissed the court—and that noble Howard was now charged with peculation and corruption, particularly with reference to the money paid by the Dutch for the recovery of the cautionary towns, a business in which all the public men had taken bribes. Suffolk and his wife were both thrown into the Tower, and the ingenuity of Bacon, and of commissioners appointed by him, was employed in making out a strong case of embezzlement against the treasurer. The earl wrote to the king, imploring him to pardon his weakness and errors—guilt he would never confess—and telling him that, instead of being enriched by the places he had held, he was little less than 40,000*l.*

in debt.* The name of this Howard was rather popular, for he had fought bravely at sea in the time of Elizabeth, and James was half inclined to stop proceedings against him: but Buckingham was of a different mind, and the earl and countess were brought up to the Star Chamber. There, Coke, who hoped to fight his way back to favour by some of his old sharp practices, charged the prisoners on one side, while Bacon, who spoke like an Aristides, assailed them on the other. The venal and corrupt chancellor was eloquent in exposing the shameful vice of corruption. Suffolk, disregarding a hint to plead guilty and make sure of the royal pardon, stood upon his innocence, and it was the general opinion that, as compared with his wife, he was innocent. But the Star Chamber sentenced them to pay a fine of 30,000*l.*, and sent them both back to the Tower. After some time, however, the fine was reduced to 7000*l.*, which was "clutched up by Ramsay earl of Haddington," and the Earl and Countess of Suffolk recovered their liberty. The post of lord treasurer was sold to Sir Henry Montague, chief justice of the King's Bench, for a large sum; but in less than a year it was taken from him and bestowed on Cranfield, afterwards Earl of Middlesex, who had married one of "the kindred."

But this same year witnessed a far more memorable proceeding—one which, while it blackened for all ages the name of James, has perhaps brightened beyond their deserts the fame and character of the illustrious victim. Sir Walter Raleigh, it will be remembered, after receiving sentence of death at Winchester, was immured in the Tower of London. In that dismal state-prison he found several men fit to be his mates; and these were increased year after year by the absurd tyranny of the court, until it seemed almost to be James's intention to shut up all the genius, taste, and enterprise of England in that great cage. Henry Percy, the accomplished and munificent Earl of Northumberland, the friend of science and scientific

* Cabala.

men, the enthusiastic promoter of natural and experimental philosophy, the favourer of all good learning; and Serjeant Hoskins, the scholar, poet, wit, and critic, the admired of Camden, Selden, Daniel, the friend and polisher of Ben Jonson, were among the distinguished comates of Raleigh; and these men constantly attracted to the Tower some of the most intellectual of their contemporaries, who enlivened their captivity with learned and pleasant discourse. Northumberland served as a centre for these wits, and his purse appears to have been always open to such as were in need, whether prisoners or free. For some time Raleigh did not require pecuniary assistance; for, though his moveable estate was forfeited by his attainder, it was consigned to trustees appointed by himself for the benefit of his family and creditors, and his principal estate and castle of Sherborne in Dorsetshire, which his taste and unsparing outlay of money in his prosperous days "had beautified with orchards, gardens, and groves of much variety and great delight," had been cautiously conveyed to his eldest son some time before the death of Elizabeth and the beginning of his troubles. But some sharp eye, in looking for prey, discovered that there was a legal flaw in the deed of conveyance, and the chief justice, Popham, Raleigh's personal enemy, and the same that had sat on his trial, decided that, from the omission of some technicality, the deed was altogether invalid. No doubt the chief justice knew beforehand that the king wanted the property for his minion Robert Carr, who was just then commencing his career at court. From his prison Raleigh wrote to the young favourite, telling him that, if the inheritance of his children were thus taken from them for want of a word, there would remain to him but the name of life. Some of the expressions in this letter are exceedingly affecting; but, in reading them, we cannot but remember that Raleigh himself, at his own dawn, had greedily grasped at the possessions of the fatherless—that he himself had got from Elizabeth a grant of the lands of Anthony Babington, leaving the young and innocent widow and children to

beggary.* The letter to the favourite produced no effect. Then the prisoner's wife, the devoted and spirited Lady Raleigh, got access to the king, and throwing herself on her knees, with her children kneeling with her, implored him to spare the remnant of their fortunes. James's only reply was, "I maun ha' the land—I maun ha' it for Carr;" and the minion had it accordingly. From this time it is probable that the hospitable table kept by the Earl of Northumberland was of consequence to Raleigh on other grounds than those of society and conversation. This extraordinary man had always had a determined turn to letters and the sciences; in the bustle of the camp, in the court, in the discomforts of the sea, he had snatched hours for intense studies, which had embraced the wide range of poetry, history, law, divinity, astronomy, chemistry, and other sciences. In the Tower, the quiet of the place, the necessity his restless mind felt for employment and excitement, and the tastes of his fellow-prisoners and visitors, all led him to an increased devotion to these absorbing pursuits. If he was a rarely-accomplished man when he entered his prison-house, the thirteen years he passed there in this kind of life were likely to qualify him for great literary undertakings. During one part of his confinement he devoted a great deal of his time to chemistry, not without the usual leaning to alchymy, and an indefinite hope of discovering the philoso-

* The first entry in Lord Burleigh's diary, under the year 1587, is the following:—

"A grant of Anthony Babington to Sir Walter Raleigh."

The touching expressions in Raleigh's letter to Carr are these:—

"And for yourself, sir, seeing your fair day is now in the dawn, and mine drawn to the evening, your own virtues and the king's grace assuring you of many favours and of much honour, I beseech you not to begin your first building upon the ruins of the innocent, and that their sorrows with mine may not attend your first plantation. .... I therefore trust, sir, that you will not be the first who shall kill us outright, cut down the tree with the fruit, and undergo the curse of them that enter the fields of the fatherless."—*Scrin. Sac.*

pher's stone—a dream which was fully indulged in by his friend Northumberland, and which was no stranger to Bacon himself. Raleigh fancied that he had discovered an elixir, or grand cordial of sovereign remedy in all diseases, a sort of panacea. On one occasion, when the queen was very ill, she took his draught, and experienced or fancied immediate relief. Prince Henry, who had always taken a lively interest in his fate, and for whom Raleigh had written some admirable treatises in the Tower, joined his grateful mother in petitions for his liberation; but without avail. For the instruction of the young prince, Raleigh commenced his famous History of the World—a work, as far as it goes, of uncommon learning and genius, and altogether extraordinary, if we consider the time, the trying circumstances under which it was written, and the previous busy life of the author. The first part was finished in 1612.* Shortly after young Henry died; and then, though (to use his own expression) he had "hewn out" the second and third parts, he had not heart to finish them.† In 1614 the revolutions at court had thrown Somerset into disgrace, and brought Buckingham into favour. Raleigh built new hopes on the change, and instantly became a suitor to George Villiers. But he and his friends had never ceased their endeavours at court, and before this time Sir Walter had proposed to Secretary Winwood a scheme which, he fancied, must excite the king's cupidity, and lead to his immediate release. In the year 1595, Raleigh, in the course of one of his adventurous voyages, had visited Guiana in South America, the fabled El Dorado, or Land of Gold, which, though discovered by the Spaniards, had not been conquered or settled. The capital city of Manoa, which had been described by Spanish writers as one vast palace of Aladdin —a congeries of precious stones and precious metals— eluded his pursuit; but he found the country to be fertile and beautiful, and he discovered at an accessible

* It was not published till 1614.

† It should be remembered, however, that he was released from the Tower after the prince's death, and again involved in the active business of life.

point, not far from the banks of the mighty Oronoco, some signs of a gold mine. He now proposed to Secretary Winwood an expedition to secure and work that virgin mine, which he was confident would yield exhaustless treasures. The ships necessary, their equipment, and all expenses, he undertook to provide by himself and his friends; he asked nothing from the king, who was to have one-fifth of the gold, but his liberty and an ample commission. Winwood, though a practised and cautious man of business, was captivated by the project, and he recommended it to the king as a promising speculation. James, who was almost pennyless, entered into it at first with more eagerness than the secretary; but, on reflection, he fancied that the enterprise might involve him in a war with Spain, which still pretended its exclusive right, by papal bull, to all those regions; and war was James's horror. Still, however, his increasing wants made him often dream of El Dorado, and he began to talk about Raleigh as a brave and skilful man. Some noble friends of the captive took advantage of this frame of mind; but nothing was now to be done at court without conciliating "the kindred;" and it was a sum of 1500*l.* paid to Sir William St. John and Sir Edward Villiers, uncles of the favourite, that undid the gates of the Tower. Raleigh walked forth in the beginning of March, leaving behind him, in that fortress, the fallen Robert Carr, earl of Somerset, who, in the following month, was brought to his trial for the murder of Overbury. But, though admitted to liberty, Sir Walter as yet had no pardon; and to obtain one, and to restore his shattered fortune, to indulge again in his favourite pursuits, his romantic adventures, he laboured heart and soul to remove the king's objections to his great project. James had a hard struggle between his timidity and his cupidity: he longed for the gold as the traveller in the desert longs for water, but still he dreaded the Spaniards, the dragons of the mine. His indecision was increased when, by his indiscreet gossiping, the project became known to the Spanish ambassador. Count Gondomar was a very accomplished diplomatist, the best that

could possibly have been found for such a court as that of James. "He had as free access to the king as any courtier of them all, Buckingham only excepted; and the king took delight to talk with him, for he was full of conceits, and would speak false Latin a purpose, in his merry fits, to please the king; telling the king plainly, 'You speak Latin like a pedant, but I speak it like a gentleman.'"* While he could drink wine with his majesty and the men, he could win the ladies of the court by his gallantry and liberality; and it is said that, in that sink of dishonour and immorality, he intrigued with some of the highest dames, and bribed some of the proudest nobles. If the indiscretion of the king over his cups were not enough, he had plenty of other keys to the secrets of government. According to James's own declaration, Gondomar "took great alarm, and made vehement assertions, in repeated audiences, that he had discovered the objects of the expedition to be hostile and piratical, tending to a breach of the late peace between the two crowns."† Raleigh drew up a memorial, stating that he intended to sail not for any Spanish possession, but for a country over which England could claim a right both by priority of discovery and by the consent of the natives; that there would be no hostile collision with the Spaniards; and that the arms and soldiers he took with him would be solely for self-defence. According to James, the ambassador then seemed to be satisfied, observing to Secretary Winwood, that if Raleigh only meant to make a peaceful settlement, Spain would offer no resistance. Thereupon the energetic adventurer pressed the preparations for his expedition, and his reputation and merit "brought many gentlemen of quality to venture their estates and persons upon the design." Sir Walter obtained from the Countess of Bedford 8000*l.* which were owing to him, and Lady Raleigh sold her estate of Mitcham for 2500*l.*; all of

* Arthur Wilson.

† James's declaration in App. to Cayley's Life of Raleigh.

which money he embarked in the adventure. Having obtained ample information as to the course he intended to pursue, and securities, in persons of wealth and rank, for his good behaviour and return, James granted his commission under the privy seal, constituting Raleigh general and commander-in-chief of the expedition, and governor of the colony which he was about to found. On the 28th of March, 1617, he set sail with a fleet of fourteen vessels. The 'Destiny,' in which he hoisted his flag, had on board two hundred men, including sixty gentlemen, many of whom were his own or his wife's relations. The voyage began inauspiciously; the ships were driven by a storm into the Cove of Cork, where they lay till the month of August. They did not reach the Cape de Verd Islands before October, and it was the 13th of November when they "recovered the land of Guiana." During the long rough voyage, disease had broken out among the sailors; forty-two men died on board the admiral's ship alone, and Raleigh suffered the most violent calenture that ever man did and lived. But he wrote to his wife, "We are still strong enough, I hope, to perform what we have undertaken, if the diligent care at London to make our strength known to the Spanish king by his ambassador have not taught that monarch to fortify all the entrances against us." He was received by his old friends, the Indians on the coast, with enthusiasm;* but he soon learned that the Spaniards were up the country, and prepared to dispute with him the possession of it. Being himself so reduced by sickness as to be unable to walk, he sent Captain Keymis up the river Oronoco with five of the ships, and took up his station with the rest at the island of Trinidad, close to the mouths of that river. He had been given to understand that a Spanish fleet was in the neighbourhood; and it is quite certain that he intended not only to fight it if challenged, but also to fight in order to prevent it following

* "To tell you that I might here be king of the Indians were a vanity. But my name hath still lived among them here. They feed me with fresh meat, and all that the country yields. All offer to obey me."—*Letter to his Wife.*

Keymis up the river. This brave captain, who had been for many years devoted to Raleigh, and had suffered many troubles on his account, had explored the country where the mine was situated in 1595, and he was now ordered to make direct for the mine, "the star that directed them thither." If he found it rich and royal he was to establish himself at it; if poor and unpromising, he was to bring away with him a basket or two of ore, to convince the king that the design was not altogether visionary. Keymis began sailing up the river on the 10th of December. If we are to believe the English accounts, the Spaniards began the war, and shot at the ships both with their ordnance and muskets, which they were very likely to do, even without a reference to the exclusive pretension of sovereignty, from the recollection of the mode in which the great Drake and other English commanders had behaved, and that too when, as now, there was no declaration of war between England and Spain.* Keymis soon arrived off the town of St. Thomas, which the Spaniards had recently built on the right bank of the river; and he landed and took up a position between that town and the mine. It is said that he had no intention of attacking the place—we confess that, from a consideration of the circumstances, we doubt the assertion—and that the Spaniards broke in upon him by surprise, in the middle of the night, and butchered many of his people in their sleep. In the morning the English assaulted the town and forced their way into it. The fight was desperate: on one side the governor, a near relation of the ambassador Gondomar, was slain; on the other the brave young Captain Walter Raleigh, the general's eldest son. This young Walter was the true son of his father: he cut down one of the chief officers of the Spaniards, and was cut down himself in the act of charging at the head of his own company of pikemen. His death infuriated the English, who

* It was an axiom with sailors long before and long after this voyage of Raleigh, that the treaties of Europe did not extend across the ocean—that there was "no peace beyond the Line."

loved him dearly; and, after much bloodshed, they set fire to the houses. All the Spaniards that escaped retired to strong positions among the hills and woods, to guard, as Raleigh said, the approaches to some mines they had found in the neighbourhood of St. Thomas. We cannot help suspecting that the adventurers expected to find and secure some rich prize, like what had been pounced upon by the Drakes and Hawkinses, but all they really found in the captured and destroyed town of St. Thomas were two ingots of gold and four empty refining-houses. They immediately showed their disappointment and discontent, became mutinous and dangerous, and Keymis, oppressed with grief for the loss of young Raleigh, and confounded by their clamours and conflicting projects, appears to have lost his head. He however led them some way higher up the river; but, on receiving a volley from a body of Spaniards lying in ambush, which killed two and wounded six of his men, he retreated and made all haste to join his chief. Their meeting was dreadful: Raleigh, in anguish and despair, accused Keymis of having undone him, and ruined his credit for ever. The poor captain answered, that when his son was lost, and he reflected that he had left the general himself so weak that he scarcely thought to find him alive, he had no reason to enrich a company of rascals, who, after his son's death, made no account of him. Raleigh, in the utter anguish of his soul, repeated his charges. Keymis drew up a defence of his conduct in a letter to the Earl of Arundel, which he requested his commander to approve of; but, though some days had been allowed to elapse, Raleigh was not yet in a humour to be merciful to the brave friend of many years. He refused to sign the letter; he vented reproaches of cowardice or incapacity; and then, Keymis retiring to his cabin, in the general's ship, put an end to his existence with a pistol and a knife.* All now was horror,

* "I rejected all these his arguments, and told him that I must leave it to himself to answer it to the king and state. He shut himself into his cabin, and shot himself with a pocket-pistol, which brake one of his ribs; and finding that

confusion, and mutiny in the fleet. Captain Whitney took off his ship, and sailed for England, and Captain Woollaston went with him. Others followed—"a rabble of idle rascals,"—and Sir Walter was soon left with only five ships. But the men that remained were, for the most part, dashing, daring sailors, or desperate adventurers; and these men would have wished Raleigh to take a leaf or two out of the book of the lives of some of his predecessors (men honoured above all naval heroes in the annals of their country); and, though Raleigh rejected their plans of plunder, it appears to have been after a struggle with the overwhelming feeling of his utter desperation. With his "brains broken,"* he sailed down the North American coast to Newfoundland, where he refitted his ships. When they were fit for sea, a fresh mutiny broke out, and Raleigh avowedly kept them together by holding out the hope of intercepting the treasure galleons. What followed at sea is open to much doubt; but, in the month of June, 1618, Sir Walter came to anchor at Plymouth, where he was welcomed by the intelligence that there was a royal proclamation against him. Gondomar, who had received intelligence of all that had passed on the Oronoco, and of the death of his kinsman, had rushed into the royal presence, crying, "Pirates! pirates!" and had so worked upon James that the worst possible view of Raleigh's case was instantly adopted at the English court, and a proclamation was published, accusing him of scandalous outrages in infringing the royal commission, and inviting all who could give information to repair to the privy council, in order that he might be brought to punishment; and, a few days after Raleigh's arrival, Buckingham wrote a most humble letter to the Spanish ambassador, informing him that they had got the offender safe, and had seized his ships and other property; that King

he had not prevailed, he thrust a long knife under his short ribs up to the handle, and died."—*Raleigh's Letter to his Wife.*

* This striking expression is Raleigh's own, in a letter to his wife.

James held himself more aggrieved by the proceedings than King Philip could do; that all kinds of property belonging to the subjects of the king of Spain should forthwith be placed at his disposal; and that, though the offenders could not be put to death without process of law, the king of England promised that a brief and summary course should be taken with them. As if this were not enough, Buckingham concluded by saying that the king, his master, would *punctually perform his promise* by sending the offenders to be *punished in Spain*, unless the king of Spain should think it more satisfactory and exemplary that they should receive the reward of their crimes in England: and he requested the ambassador to send an express messenger into Spain because the king his master would not have the vindication of his affection to the king of Spain, or his sincere desire to do justice, long suspended. This warmth of affection arose out of James's belief that Philip was now quite ready to bestow the Infanta, with a large sum of ready money, upon Prince Charles.

The thirst of the Spaniards for Raleigh's blood was provoked by many causes besides the burning of the little town of St. Thomas. He was hated and feared as the ablest commander England possessed, and one whose place it was thought would not soon be supplied. It was remembered how he had butchered the Spaniards in the surrendered fort on the coast of Ireland, and the feeble garrison on the coast of Guiana, at the time of his first voyage thither in 1595. There were other bitter recollections of his exploits with Essex among the Azores and the Canary Islands, and Gondomar was eager to avenge the death of his kinsman. Sir Walter was fully aware of his danger; his sailors had told him that if he returned to England he would be undone; but, according to the testimony of his younger son Carew, given many years after his father's death, the Earls of Pembroke and Arundel had become bound for his return, and he had therefore come to discharge his friends from their heavy engagement, and to save them from trouble on his account. Upon landing at Plymouth, he was

arrested by Sir Lewis Stukely, Vice-Admiral of Dover, and his own near relation, who took him to the house of Sir Christopher Harris, not far from that sea-port, where he remained more than a week. As he had returned and delivered himself up, Pembroke and Arundel were released from their bond, and Sir Walter now attempted to escape to France, but he failed through his indecision, or—which is more probable—through the faithlessness of his agents and the vigilance of Stukely.

When he was carried forward from the coast to be lodged again in the Tower, Sir Walter feigned to be sick, to have the plague, to be mad; and if what is related of him be true, which we doubt, never did man play wilder or sadder pranks to save his life. Having gained a little wretched time and the king's permission to remain a few days at his own house at London before being locked up, he sent forward Captain King, one of his old officers and friends, to secure a bark for him in the Thames, in which he might yet escape to the continent. He then followed slowly to the capital, giving a rich diamond to his loving kinsman Stukely, and some money to one Manourie, a Frenchman, Stukely's servant, who both took the bribes, and promised to connive at his escape. On reaching London, his faithful friend, Captain King, informed him that he had a bark waiting near Tilbury Fort; and on that same evening Le Clerc, the French chargé d'affaires, sought him out privately, and gave him a safe conduct to the governor of Calais, with letters of recommendation to other gentlemen in France. On the following morning, as he was descending the Thames, he was basely betrayed by Stukely, who, to the last moment, pretended that he was assisting him through the toils.* He was brought back to London, and securely lodged in that wretched prison where he had already spent so many years, and where he was soon subjected to frequent examination by a commission composed of the Archbishop of Canterbury (Abbot), Lord Chan-

* For the particulars of Stukely's villany, see Mr. Tytler's Life of Raleigh.

cellor Bacon, Sir Edward Coke, and some other members of the privy council. He was charged, first, with having fraudulently pretended that his expedition was to discover a mine, while his real object was to recover his liberty, and commence pirate; secondly, that he intended to excite a war with Spain; thirdly, that he barbarously abandoned his ships' companies, and exposed them unnecessarily to extreme danger; fourthly, that he had spoken disrespectfully of the king's majesty; that he had imposed upon the king by feigning sickness and madness; and lastly, had attempted to escape in contempt of his authority. Raleigh replied that his sincerity as to the gold mine was proved by his taking out refiners and tools, at his own expense, "of not less than 2000*l.*;" that the affair of St. Thomas was contrary to his orders; that he never abandoned his men, or exposed them to more danger than he underwent himself; that all that he had said of the king was, that he was undone by the confidence he had placed in his majesty, and that he knew his life would be sacrificed to state purposes. As to his feigning sickness and attempting to escape, it was true, but natural and justifiable. As the commissioners could gain no advantage over him in these interrogatories, it was resolved to place a familiar or spy over him who might ensnare him into admissions and dangerous correspondence. The person chosen for this detestable but at that time not uncommon office was Sir Thomas Wilson, Keeper of the State Paper Office, a learned, ingenious, base scoundrel. If this Wilson is to be credited, Raleigh acknowledged that, had he fallen in with the treasure-ships, he would have made a prize of them according to the old principles which he had learned in the school of Drake and Cavendish. To which my Lord Chancellor said, "Why, you would have been a pirate." "Oh!" quoth he, "did you ever know of any that were pirates for millions? They that work for small things are pirates."* Bacon's palm must have

* Sir Thomas Wilson's own MS. in the State Paper Office, as quoted by Mr. Tytler, Life of Raleigh. It appears

itched as he thought of all this gold, and perhaps, in spite of James's fears, Raleigh's fate would have been somewhat different if he had returned with the "millions." But as things were, there was no making a capital crime of an intention; nor could all the cunning, and zeal, and perseverance of Sir Thomas Wilson extract or detect anything of the least consequence. As it was fully resolved that he should lose his head,* James ordered his council to devise some other means; and, on the 18th of October, Bacon and Coke and the other commissioners who had examined him presented two forms of proceeding for his majesty's consideration. The one was to send his death-warrant at once to the Tower, only accompanying it with a narrative of Raleigh's late offences, to be printed and published; the other form, to which they said they *rather* inclined, as being *nearer to legal proceedings*, was "that the prisoner should be called before a council of state, at which the judges and several of the nobility and gentlemen of quality should be present; that some of the privy council should then declare that this form of proceeding was adopted because he was already civilly dead (in consequence of the sentence pronounced at Winchester fifteen years before); that, after that, the king's council should charge his acts of hostility, depredation, abuse of the king's commission, and of his subjects under his charge, impostures, attempts to escape, and other his misdemeanors:" and they recommended that, after this charge, the "examinations should be read, and Sir Walter heard, and some persons confronted against him, if need were; and then he was to be withdrawn and sent back, because no sentence could by law be given against him; and, after he was gone, the lords of the privy council and the judges should give their advice whether upon these subsequent

that the Spanish ambassador expressly charged Raleigh with "propounding to his fleet to go and intercept some of the Plate galleons."—*Howell, Letters.*

* "Gondomar will never give him over till he hath his head off his shoulders."—*Howell, Letters.*

offences, the king might not, with justice and honour, give warrant for his execution."* For reasons not explained this latter form was rejected, and the former alternative, somewhat modified, was adopted; and a privy seal was sent to the judges of the Court of King's Bench, directing them to order immediate execution of the old sentence upon Sir Walter Raleigh. The judges, cowardly and corrupt as they were, were startled with the novelty and injustice of the case, and a consultation of all the twelve judges was held, wherein it was determined that neither a writ of privy seal, nor a warrant under the great seal, would be a sufficient authority, after so great a lapse of time, to order execution without calling upon the party to show cause against it;† and, in the end, they unanimously resolved that the legal course would be to bring the prisoner to the bar by a writ of *habeas corpus*. Accordingly, such a writ was issued to the lieutenant of the Tower, who, upon the 28th of October, at an early hour of the morning, made Raleigh, who was suffering from fever and ague (this time his maladies were not feigned), rise from his bed and dress himself. As soon as he was brought to the bar of the Court of King's Bench at Westminster, Sir Henry Yelverton, the attorney-general, said, "My Lords, Sir Walter Raleigh, the prisoner at the bar, was fifteen years since convicted of high treason at Winchester; then he received judgment to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; but his majesty, of his abundant grace, hath been pleased to show mercy unto him till now, when justice calls upon him for execution. Sir Walter Raleigh hath been a statesman and a man who, in respect of his parts and quality, is to be pitied; he hath been as a star at which the world hath gazed; but stars may fall, nay, they must fall when they trouble the sphere wherein they abide. It is, therefore, his majesty's

* Cayley, Life of Raleigh.

† "For, it was said, among other reasons, that the original judgment being of so long standing, the party might have a pardon to show, or he might plead that he was not the same person." — *Hutton's Reports, as quoted by Mr. Jardine, Crim. Trials.*

pleasure now to call for execution of the former judgment, and I now require your lordships' order for the same." Then, the clerk of the crown having first read the old conviction and judgment, the prisoner was asked why execution should not be awarded. "My lords," replied Raleigh, "my voice is grown weak by reason of sickness." Montague, the chief justice, told him his voice was audible enough. "Then, my lords," continued Raleigh, with admirable composure, "all I have to say is this: I hope that the judgment which I received to die so long since cannot now be strained to take away my life; for since that judgment was passed, it was his majesty's pleasure to grant me a commission to proceed in a voyage beyond the seas, wherein I had power, as marshal, over the life and death of others; so, under favour, I presume I am discharged of that judgment. By that commission I gained new life and vigour; for he that hath power over the lives of others, must surely be master of his own . . . . Under my commission I departed the land, and undertook a journey, to honour my sovereign and to enrich his kingdom with gold, the ore whereof this hand hath found and taken in Guiana; but the voyage, notwithstanding my endeavour, had no other event but what was fatal to me—the loss of my son and the wasting of my whole estate." The chief justice told him that he spoke not to the purpose; that his voyage had nothing to do with the judgment of death formerly given against him, which judgment it was now the king's pleasure, upon certain occasions best known to himself, to have executed; that the commission given to him could in no way help him, for by that he was not pardoned, nor was there any word tending to pardon him in all that commission;* that in cases of treason there must be a pardon by express words. To this

*"The old sentence," says Howell, "still lies dormant against him, which he could never get off by pardon, notwithstanding that he mainly laboured in it before he went; but his majesty could never be brought to it; for he said he would keep this as a curb to hold him within the bounds of his commission, and of good behaviour."—*Letters.*

Raleigh replied, that, if such was the law, he must put himself on the mercy of the king, and hope that he would be pleased to have compassion. He then said, "Concerning that judgment at Winchester passed so long ago, I presume that most of you that hear me know how that was obtained; nay, I know that his majesty was of opinion that I had hard measure therein, and was so resolved touching that trial; and if he had not been anew exasperated against me, certain I am, I might, if I could by nature, have lived a thousand and a thousand years before he would have taken advantage thereof." The chief justice told him that he had had an honourable trial at Winchester (and honourable it was to Raleigh!); that for fifteen years he had been as a dead man in the law, and might at any minute have been cut off, had not the king, in mercy, spared him. "You might justly think it heavy," he continued, "if you were now called to execution in cold blood; but it is not so; for *new offences have stirred up his majesty's justice to revive what the law hath formerly granted.*" (This was admitting what Raleigh said, and what all the world knew.) And after praying God to have mercy on his soul, he ended with the fatal words—"Execution is granted." The undaunted victim then begged for a short respite to settle his affairs, and for the use of pen, ink, and paper to "express something," and to discharge himself of "some worldly trust;" "and I beseech you," he said, "not to think that I crave this to gain one minute of life; for now, being old, sickly, disgraced, and certain to go to death, life is wearisome unto me." The gentle James had the barbarity to refuse the brief respite; but pen, ink, and paper were allowed, or procured from the humanity of the gaoler. Sir Walter, instead of being carried back to the Tower, was conveyed to the Gate-House at Westminster, where, in the evening, his affectionate wife took her last farewell. At an early hour on the following morning (October the 29th) he was waited upon by Dr. Tounson, dean of Westminster, appointed by the court to give him ghostly consolation; for he was

not allowed to choose his own minister. This dean administered the sacrament, which he took very reverently, declaring that he forgave all men, even his relative Sir Lewis Stukely, who had so basely betrayed him. It has been well said of Raleigh, by a contemporary, that he rather loved life than feared death—the reverse, we believe, being generally the case with inferior minds. He would have lived on for the beauty of this visible world, of which, as a traveller, he had seen so much,—for the science and the literature he cultivated,—for the grand schemes of discovery he indulged in to the last,—for his wife and dear boy;—but, as soon as he felt his doom to be inevitable, he made up his mind to meet it with alacrity and cheerfulness. He breakfasted heartily, smoked a pipe of tobacco after it, as was his usual practice, and when they brought him a cup of good sack, and asked him how he liked it, he said, gaily, that it was good drink if a man might tarry by it. It was mercifully arranged at court that he should be beheaded instead of being hanged, drawn, and quartered. At about eight o'clock in the morning he was conveyed to the scaffold erected in Old Palace Yard, Westminster, where an immense crowd was collected, including many great lords and courtiers, and no doubt ladies—for it was common then for high-born dames to attend these scenes of blood. There was so great a press that it was with difficulty the sheriffs and their men could get him through. When Sir Walter was upon the scaffold he saluted, with a cheerful countenance, the lords, knights, and gentlemen. He then began to speak, and, perceiving a window where the Lords Arundel, Northampton, and Doncaster were seated, he said he would strain his voice, for he would willingly have them hear. But my Lord of Arundel said, "Nay, we will rather come down to the scaffold." And this he and some others did; and then Raleigh, after saluting them one by one, continued to speak. He thanked God heartily that he had brought him to die in the light, and not left him to perish obscurely in the dark prison of the Tower, where for so

many years he had been oppressed with many miseries: he denied, by all his hopes of salvation, that he ever had any plot or intelligence with France; that he had ever spoken dishonourably or disloyally of his sovereign. He solemnly asserted, that in going to Guiana he knew that the mine he spoke of really existed, and that it was his full intent to search for gold for the benefit of his majesty and himself, and of those that ventured with him, together with the rest of his countrymen. Then, after defending himself at some length against other charges, he spoke about the fall and death of the gallant Essex, by which he knew he had lost the favour of the people, and which (as we believe) weighed heavily on his soul in spite of his denial of having hastened that execution. Then the Dean of Westminster asked him in what faith he meant to die; and Raleigh said in the faith professed by the Church of England. "Then, before he should say his prayers, because the morning was sharp, the sheriff offered him to bring him down off the scaffold to warm himself by a fire. 'No, good Mr. Sheriff,' said he, 'let us despatch, for within this quarter of an hour mine ague will come upon me, and, if I be not dead before then, mine enemies will say that I quake for fear.'" So he made a most admirable prayer, and then rose up and clasped his hands, saying, "Now I am going to God." He then took his leave of the lords, knights, and gentlemen. Though so ready to die, he was anxious for the fame that should survive him; and, in bidding farewell to the Earl of Arundel, he entreated him to desire the king that no scandalous writing to defame him might be published after his death. He poised the axe, felt its edge, and then said, with a smile, "This is a sharp medicine, but it will cure all diseases." He laid his neck across the block; the executioner hesitated; "What dost thou fear?" said he; "strike, man!" The headsman struck, and at two blows severed the neck of the soldier, sailor, statesman, poet—the universal Raleigh, who was then in the sixty-seventh year of his age:—

"Even such is Time, that takes on trust
Our youth, our joys, our all we have,
And pays us but with age and dust:
Who, in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wander'd all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days."*

King James made a merit of this execution with the court of Spain: the people set it down to his eternal disgrace.

The death of Sir Walter Raleigh was soon followed by that of Queen Anne, who had interceded warmly but in vain in his favour; and by a war into which James found himself dragged, in spite of his soul.

The country of Bohemia, surrounded on all sides by mountains, was occupied by an interesting people, a branch of the great Slavonian family of nations. The Cteches, or Bohemians as they were called in the rest of Europe, maintained their independence, and were governed by an elective king of their own choosing till the year 1526, when the house of Austria, a house which has gained more by fortunate marriages than by arms, obtained the sovereignty through the union of Ferdinand I. with the daughter of Lewis II. Long before this event, sects had arisen in the country inimical to the Church of Rome: Conrad Stekna, John Milicz, and Mathias Janowa, between the middle and the end of the fourteenth century, had raised their voices against some fundamental doctrines, for which the Pope proceeded against them as heretics. The reader will remember that our unfortunate King Richard II. married a Bohemian princess, the good Queen Anne. At her death in 1394, many persons of her household who had accompanied her from her native country, returned thither and contributed to spread the doctrines of our first reformer Wycliffe. At the same period, a considerable intercourse existed between the universities of Prague and

* Raleigh's works. It is said that he wrote these lines on a blank leaf of his Bible the night before his execution.

Oxford; English students occasionally frequented the former—Bohemian students the latter. Hieronymus of Prague, the friend of John Huss, and in the end his companion at the stake, is supposed to have returned from Oxford about the year 1400. He probably assisted Huss when, shortly after, that reformer translated all the works of Wycliffe. Huss was burned in 1414 by sentence of the council of Constance, but his opinions survived him, and when Luther began his great work about a century after, the majority of the Bohemians became ready converts. The religious feelings allied themselves with the hereditary hostility which existed between the Slavonian and the German races, and with their nationality and jealousy of the house of Austria, which remained steadfast in its attachment to the Roman church.* There followed a series of insurrections and sanguinary conflicts; but in the year 1609, the Emperor Rodolph conceded the boon of religious freedom to Bohemia. This treaty was not very religiously observed by Rodolph's successor; but, at the same time, it must be allowed that the Protestant Bohemians were not satisfied with a simple toleration; their aim and object was to establish their own faith as the only or the dominant church, and to snatch their old Slavonian crown out of the grasp of the Tudesque house of Austria. The latter aim was natural and honourable, but unfortunately the Protestant Bohemians had not all adopted the same branch of the Reformation; some were Lutherans, some Calvinists; and these sections hated each other as much as they did the Pope and the Devil. The Catholics also were still numerous, and included some of the noblest families. Hence the national cause was sacrificed, for the people were divided against themselves. The Calvinists, the most numerous or the boldest, began the

* Some interesting information regarding the history of religion among the Bohemians, and other people of the Slavonian stock, has been recently given by Count Valerian Krasinski, a Polish exile, in the first volume of his 'Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Reformation in Poland.' London, 1838.

quarrel this time by seizing some lands, which belonged to the Catholic archbishop of Prague and the Abbot of Brunaw. The archbishop and the abbot appealed to the Emperor, who gave a decision in their favour. Thereupon the Calvinists fasted and prayed, and deliberated during two whole days, and upon the third day (the 23rd of May, 1618), they repaired well armed to the castle of Prague, where the council of state was sitting, and, after some altercation, flung Martinitz Slavatta and Philip Fabricius, members of the council and zealous Papists, out of the windows into the castle ditch. Immediately after their unceremonious ejection, Count Thurn, the leader of the insurrection, delivered a spirited harangue to the people. The Calvinists to a man flocked round the national banner; but the Lutherans and the Catholics remained loyal to the house of Austria, or were neutral. In a very short time most of the fortresses were taken, two armies were raised, a manifesto was published, and a provisional government established. The old Emperor Matthias offered an amnesty, and proposed that the grounds of the quarrel should be referred to the amicable arbitration of the two Catholic electors of Mentz and Bavaria, and the two Protestant Electors of Saxony and the Palatinate; but the Bohemians, who were greatly encouraged by seeing the insurrection spread into the provinces of Lusatia, Silesia, and Moravia, rejected the proposal. The old emperor died at the end of the year, and was succeeded by his cousin, Ferdinand II., a weak and bigoted prince. The Bohemians reviving the old principle, that their crown was elective, that their sovereign was to be chosen by themselves, offered the dangerous honour to two of the princes who had been selected by the emperor as arbitrators—first to John George, Elector of Saxony, who refused it, and then to the Elector Palatine. The Palatine Frederick, without making a proper estimate of his means to resist the great confederacy of the Catholics and the house of Austria, and blindly counting upon the assistance of his father-in-law, the King of England, as chief of the Protestant interests, accepted the invitations of the Bohe-

mians, or rather of the Calvinist insurgents, hastened with his family to Prague, and was crowned on the 4th of November 1619.* Frederick had declared that the 'finger of God was made visible in his election'; the Protestants abroad considered it as a great and glorious victory obtained over the Papists, and the encroaching spirit of the house of Austria. In England nobody looked coolly at the question as a political one: Abbot, the primate, declared that the Palatine ought to follow where God led him, and the mass of the people thought that a holy war ought to be made to secure him in possession of the kingdom of Bohemia. In a short time, the cry for war spread throughout Scotland and England, and became louder and louder, when news arrived that immense preparations were making by the Catholic powers to drive Frederick not only from Bohemia, but also out of his hereditary dominions. James was astounded, and gored by the horns of several dilemmas. Could he, who had declared, written, and preached against the transfer of crowns on religious pretexts, and by the will of the people and popular revolutions, assist the Bohemians against their lawful sovereign lord the emperor? But could he, on the other hand, remain quiet and see his son-in-law ruined? the inheritance of the children of his only daughter swallowed up? Could he, as a Protestant monarch, witness the aggrandizement of the Catholic powers? But, on the other side, what sympathy could he feel with Calvinists? If he assisted his son-in-law, he should lose that Spanish daughter-in-law elect, and that rich dower his heart had so long yearned after. If he should enter into the war without money in his treasury, without ships in his arsenals, what chance had he of success? But then, on the other side, in the inflamed state of his subjects' minds, would it be safe for him to try to remain at peace? He procrastinated, equi-

* Frederick did not even wait for the letters of the ambassador he had despatched to England to consult with James, who wisely prophesied from the beginning, that the undertaking would miscarry, and involve his son-in-law in ruin and disgrace.

vocated, and shuffled. He told the Protestant envoys from Germany and Bohemia, that he would assuredly support the true faith, and aid his dear son: he told Gondomar that the Palgrave was a villain, a usurper, and he gave his royal word that he would not assist him and the confederate princes. But when, while Frederick was in his new kingdom, the Catholics fell might and main upon the Lower Palatinate, the cry of indignation in England was so terrifying that he was obliged to do something more than talk, and, without flying in the face of his principles, he thought he might assist his son-in-law in his own patrimonial states, if he meddled not with Bohemia. After sending ambassadors to Brussels and Madrid on negotiations that proved altogether fruitless, he raised and equipped four thousand volunteers, who, under the command of the Earls of Oxford and Essex, and Sir Horatio Vere, proceeded by Holland and the Rhine to the Palatinate. This force was too small and too late to be of any service; but in the raising of it James had completely exhausted his means and his credit, and he found himself again driven to the hard necessity of thinking about a parliament.

A.D. 1621.—James summoned a parliament to meet on the 16th of January, taking care to give in his proclamation as many unconstitutional directions or commands, touching what sort of members the people should elect, as he had done in 1604. At the same time, he warned the people not "to presume to talk or write saucily of the *arcana imperii*, or state affairs."* The session did not actually commence till the 30th of January, when James delivered what was meant to be a very conciliatory speech. He gave promises of better government for the future, and then with a bold face asked for liberal supplies to carry on war in the Palatinate. The commons were ready enough to vote supplies for this popular war, but, before giving their money, they requested the king to be more rigorous with regard to the papists, upon whom they laid the blame of the miscarriages in Bohemia, and

* Camden.—Rymer.

they asked satisfaction for the imprisonment of four of their members at the close of the last parliament. James promised in general terms to attend to their requests: and on the 15th of February they voted two subsidies. The Commons then proceeded to attack the patent monopolists, who robbed the people and shared their spoils with the government or with the courtiers. Sir Giles Mompesson, and his partner Sir Francis Mitchell, a justice of peace, were particularly obnoxious. Mompesson, seeing that the Court had abandoned him as a scape-goat, fled beyond sea; Mitchell was taken, voted by the Commons to be incapable of being in the commission, and sent by them to the Tower. As the Lords had never shown any alacrity in the correction of abuses, the Lower House had taken all this upon themselves; and in so doing had clearly exceeded their jurisdiction. Coke, who was not without a hope of implicating Bacon with Mompesson, took a deal of trouble with the case, and proved to the Commons that the proper mode of conducting it would be by joining with the Lords in an impeachment. The Commons then requested a conference, at which they informed the other House generally as to the offence; and then the Lords, taking upon themselves the inquiry, and becoming satisfied of the guilt of the parties, sent for the Commons and delivered judgment, which was, that Mompesson and Mitchell should be degraded from the honour of knighthood, fined, and imprisoned. James, who had been frightened out of endeavours he was making to save them, came forward to express his detestation of their offence, and to increase the severity of their punishment. By a very unusual exercise of the prerogative, it was settled that Sir Giles should be banished for life. Sir Henry Yelverton, the attorney-general, who was connected with the illegal practices, and who boldly charged Buckingham at the bar of the Lords with being a partaker in them, was condemned to two heavy fines and imprisonment for life. The ball, once set a-going down such a foul and slippery declivity, was not likely to stop soon. Sir John Bennet, judge of the prerogative court, was impeached for cor-

ruption in his office; and Doctor Field, now bishop of Llandaff, was impeached for being concerned in a matter of bribery in the Chancery Court. The Lord Chancellor Bacon, whose own hour was coming, said truly that corruption was the vice of the time. Within not many days after, Bacon was impeached himself for corruption in his high office. Coke took a prominent share in this business; but Buckingham wanted the seals for his creature, Bishop Williams. A report of a committee of the Lower House to inquire into abuses in the courts of justice, recommended proceedings against the Lord Chancellor, Viscount St. Alban's*—and the Commons, having been told by the King to proceed fearlessly, charged him before the Lords with twenty-two several acts of bribery and corruption. A constitutional timidity, united with a consciousness of guilt, or still more perhaps, the certainty that the Court had devoted him to ruin, made Bacon's heart sink within him. He took to his bed, wrote an affecting letter to the Lords, and prayed for time that he might recover from his sickness, and prepare his defence. He was gratified in this respect, for the two Houses adjourned from the 27th of March to the 17th of April. In that interval the falling chancellor was admitted to an audience of the king. On the 24th of April, a week after the re-assembling of parliament, Bacon sent his submission, and a confession in general terms to the Lords, which, it appears, was presented by Prince Charles. His humble submission, he said, came from a wasted spirit and oppressed mind, from the midst of a state of as great affliction as a mortal man might endure, honour being above life. Still, he continued, he found gladness in some things: the first being, "that hereafter the greatness of a judge or magistrates shall be no sanctuary or protection to him against guiltiness, which is the beginning of a golden work. The next; after this example, it is like that judges will fly from anything in the likeness of corruption (though it

* Bacon had been raised to the title of Viscount St. Alban's on the 27th of January of this same year.

were at a great distance) as from a serpent; which tends to the purging of the courts of justice, and reducing them to their true honour and splendour." He hoped that the peers would behold their chief pattern, the king,—a king of incomparable clemency, and whose heart was inscrutable for wisdom and goodness,—a prince whose like had not been seen these hundred years, a prince who deserved to be made memorable by records of acts mixed of mercy and justice." He told them that corruption and bribery were the vices of the time, and that any reform would in the beginning be attended with danger.* He reminded their lordships of their noble feeling and loving affections towards him as a member of their own body, and concluded his remarkable letter with these words:—"And therefore my humble suit to your lordships is, that my penitent submission may be my sentence, the loss of my seal my punishment, and that your lordships would recommend me to his majesty's grace and pardon for all that is past. God's holy spirit be among you."† But the lords were not satisfied with this submission, humble as it was, nor with his general and vague confession; and though they excused him from appearing as a criminal at their bar, they exacted from him a distinct confession to all the charges specifically brought against him. He then wrote and signed a confession of particulars; and to a deputation of the lords, who waited upon him to know whether this paper was his own voluntary act, he said, with tears, "It is my act,—my hand, —my heart. Oh, my lords, spare a broken reed."

On the 30th of April his second confession was read in the Lords, who, on the 3rd of May, informed the Lower House that they were ready to pronounce sentence against the late Lord Chancellor. So the House went up, and the Speaker demanded judgment. The

* When the fierce general attack first began, Bacon wrote to the king:—"I hope I shall not be found to have the troubled fountain of a corrupt heart, in a depraved habit of taking rewards to pervert justice, however, I may be frail, and *partake of the abuses of the times.*"

† Bacon's Works.

Lord Chief Justice (sitting as Speaker in the higher House) said that the lords had duly considered of the complaints presented by the Commons against the Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Alban's, late Lord Chancellor, and had found him guilty, as well by oath of witnesses as by his own confession, of those and many other corruptions, for which they had sent for him to come and answer; and upon his sincere protestation of sickness, they, admitting his excuse of absence, had yet notwithstanding proceeded to his judgment, namely,—That he be fined 40,000*l.*; to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure; made incapable to bear office in the commonwealth; never to sit in parliament; nor to come within the verge, which is within twelve miles, of the court.* Bacon had not 40,000*l.*—so steadily had his expense kept pace with his increasing income that he probably had not 40,000 pence. James was pleased to remit the fine, which he never could have paid, and to liberate him from the Tower after a *pro formâ* imprisonment of two days. Such a man could not be without his friends and admirers—even in the House of Commons, Sir Edward Sackville and others adventured to speak in his favour; and, apart from politicians and courtiers, there were, no doubt, many high and honest minds that revered the philospher, the wit, the scholar, though they condemned and despised the chancellor. It is, at all events, a sort of consolation to know that, when Bacon took his departure from the verge of the court, a beggared and disgraced man, he was not wholly forsaken even in that time-serving generation. On that day, as Prince Charles was returning from hunting, "he espied a coach, attended with a goodly troop of horsemen," who it seems were gathered together to wait upon the chancellor to his house at Gorhambury, at the time of his declension. At which the prince smiled; "Well, do we what we can," said he, "this man scorns to go out like a snuff."† He had inscribed his name on the scroll of the immortals—he had written his greatest works before his fall: his

* Journals. † Aulicus Coquinariæ.

History of Henry VII., and some other things, were produced after his disgrace. If he had satisfied himself with these ennobling pursuits—if he had remained quiet in the beautiful solitudes of Gorhambury, which lie like a piece of Paradise under the ancient town of St. Alban's, he would have risen into respect, even personally, from the moment he fell from power; but so mean was this great man's soul,—so dependant was he for his gratifications on money, and place, and court honour, that he struggled and begged incessantly, and wrote the most humiliating of letters for the light of the king's countenance, for a pension, for some fresh employment. At times his baseness and flattery were closely allied to impiety. He wrote, for example, to the prince, that he hoped, as his father, the king, had been his creator, so he, the son, would be his redeemer.*

The Commons had scarcely made this session memorable by the impeachment of high delinquents, when they proceeded to make it disgraceful by a spiteful and meanly tyrannical prosecution—a glaring instance of vulgar, savage intolerance. There was one Edward Floyde, a Catholic of good family, a prisoner in the Fleet for debt or popery, or both, who sorely offended Protestant ears by rejoicing at the success of the Catholic arms against the new king of Bohemia, or by saying, simply (for this was the burden of the matter), that Prague was taken, and goodman Palgrave and goodwife Palgrave had taken to their heels. For this offence, which was not worthy the attention of the pettiest court, the Commons, in a headlong fury, sentenced him to pay a fine of 1000*l.*, to stand in the pillory in three different places, and to be carried from place to place on a horse without a saddle, and with his face turned to the tail. But the next day the chancellor of the exchequer delivered a message from the king, telling the Commons that his majesty thanked them for their zeal; but lest it should transport them to inconveniences, he would have them reconsider whether they should sentence one who did not belong to them,

* Howell.

and who had not offended against their house or any member of it; and whether they could sentence a denying party without the oath of witnesses.* Nothing could well be clearer than that the Commons had exceeded their jurisdiction, as they had so recently done, and confessed it, too, in the case of Sir Giles Mompesson; but, now, instead of yielding the point, they debated it long and loudly, and persisted in their first votes. James, who for once was perfectly right, asked them to show precedents—they had none to show. The Lords requested a conference: and this, with the declaration of Noye, that the matter of judicature clearly remained with the Upper House, led the Commons to yield. The difference was merely between the two Houses—a conflict of privileges: but Lords and Commons were alike ready to be unmerciful to the poor offender; and the Lords, "to keep up a good understanding between the two Houses," augmented the severity of the original sentence. The fine of 1000*l.* was raised to 5000*l.* Whipping at the cart's tail from the Fleet to Westminster Hall was added to the infamous punishment of the pillory: Floyde was to be degraded from his rank of a gentleman, to be held an infamous person, and, as a climax to all this brutality and injustice, he was to be imprisoned in Newgate for life. Prince Charles, to his honour, interfered and obtained the remission of the whipping; but the unfortunate man, it appears, underwent the rest of the atrocious sentence.

The king considered that he had done a great deal to conciliate the Commons in this session, but still there was no prospect of their voting the fresh supplies which he needed. Therefore, on the 24th of May, as they were going on in full career with other bills for reformation of abuses, for the checking of popery, &c., he unexpectedly announced his intention of proroguing the parliament at the end of the week. The Commons petitioned for a longer time. The king offered them a fortnight, which

* The Commons had proceeded upon declarations of the chaplain of the Fleet and others. Floyde, in a letter to the king, denied the words.

they considered too little; and the parliament was prorogued to November, by commission, after a unanimous declaration made by the Commons, of their resolution to spend their lives and fortunes for the defence of the Protestant religion and the Palatinate.*

It was, indeed, time to be stirring if they meant to keep the Palatine from utter ruin. In the month of November of the preceding year (1620) the Imperialists and the Spaniards, commanded by his own relative, but bitter enemy and rival, the Duke of Bavaria, and by the famous Tilly, gained a decisive victory over him in the neighbourhood of Prague, drove him from that city, where he had been king twelve months all but three days, took all his artillery, baggage, standards, and a great treasure. He fled with his wife and children to Breslaw, leaving the heads of his party in Prague to be victims to their enraged enemies. From Breslaw he got to Berlin, and thence to the Hague in Holland. During this flight the fair and captivating Elizabeth of England, who was styled the "Queen of Hearts" when she could no longer be called Queen of Bohemia, was far advanced in pregnancy. The princes of the Protestant union, to whom the Palatine had intrusted the defence of his patrimonial possessions during his absence in Bohemia, were no match for the great Italian general Spinola, with his army of "old tough blades"† and veteran commanders. They lost town after town, and were constantly outmanœuvred or beaten by very inferior forces. The 4000 English were far too few, and their generals too unskilful, to turn the fortune of the war. The petty princes were jealous of each other; and when they were all put to the ban of the empire, they began to abandon as hopeless the cause of the Palatine, who soon found himself left alone in the war, with no other means at his disposal than the weak English force and two free corps commanded by a younger son of the House of Brunswick and Count Mansfeldt. The English threw themselves into Heidelberg, Manheim and Frankendael. Sir Arthur

* Journals.—Rushworth. † Howell.

Chichester, one of the envoys, said plainly, that the English army should have been greater or none at all; but James had neither the means nor the steady wish to increase it. He fondly fancied that he could reinstate his son-in-law, and make up all those differences,—which eventually ran into the "Thirty Years' War," the starting point being Bohemia,—by his admirable skill in diplomacy; and he continued to send ambassadors in all directions. The Earls of Essex and Oxford, who had returned from the Palatinate, said that the only way to recover that country was by force of arms; and the English people not only believed them, but joined in their complaints that the money which ought to be spent in retrieving the national honour was wasted in inglorious idlings. The discontents of these two noble commanders, and of the Earl of Southampton, gave rise to a great political novelty—a spirited opposition to the court in the House of Lords.

During the recess, James, acting, it is said, under the advice of Bishop Williams, to whom, to the great vexation of all lawyers, he had given the seals, abolished, by proclamation, thirty-six of the most oppressive of the patents and monopolies, and adopted certain regulations meant for the improvement and protection of foreign commerce. These measures were calculated to put the Commons and the nation in good-humour; but other circumstances had happened that tended to produce a very different effect. The pirates of Algiers and other ports on the African coast had for some years been very troublesome to all the flags of Europe. James proposed that the different Christian powers should unite to destroy the pirates' chief nest, Algiers, and burn all their ships. Spain, whose subjects had suffered most, engaged to cooperate; but when the time came, they fell short of the promised supply, and Sir Robert Mansell sailed to Algiers with an insufficient force and a cramped commission, by which, it should appear, he was ordered by the timid, needy king of England not to risk his ships. On the 24th of May Mansell sailed up to the port, and the English sailors soon set fire to the ships and galleys; but

they had scarcely retired when the Algerines put out the flames, recovered their ships, brought down artillery, mounted batteries on the mole, and threw booms across the harbour-mouth. We may safely calculate that Mansell did not much expose himself or his fleet, for he lost only eight men in the whole affair, and brought back all his ships undamaged.* This was clearly another case where more ought to have been done or nothing at all. The pirates turned their whole fury against the flag of James, and, within a few months, thirty-five English merchantmen were captured by them, and the crews sold as slaves. The country was filled with bitter and just complaints, when, in the month of November, the parliament re-assembled. The king lay at Royston under a real or feigned sickness; but, by his orders, Lord Digby, at a conference of the Houses, explained his bootless embassies into Germany for the recovery of the Palatinate, which he plainly hinted was now hopeless unless by means of English arms and English money. Lord Cranfield, the treasurer, told the Commons that, to maintain a sufficient force in that country for one year would require 900,000*l.*: all that the Commons would vote was one subsidy, which would make about 70,000*l.*! We can scarcely be surprised at this parsimony; they had every ground for believing that the money would have been applied to other purposes than the Protestant war; and, in spite of the mystery kept up by the court, they knew that James was, at the very moment, engaged in a treaty with Spain to get for his son a Catholic wife. And, indeed, it required some uncommon faculty to discover how James should wage a fierce war with the whole House of Austria (for Spain had been as active as the emperor against his son-in-law) and intermarry with that House at one and the same time. The Commons, moreover, and not a few of the Lords were exasperated by fresh stretches of the prerogative. Since the adjournment the Earls of Oxford and Southampton, Sutcliff, dean of Exeter, Brise, a Puritan preacher, Sir Christo-

* Howell.

pher Neville, Sir Edwin Sandys, who was a bold-spoken member of the Lower House, and the great constitutional lawyer and antiquary Selden, who had been in prison before for differing in opinion with the king and the bishops in the matter of tithes, had all been arbitrarily arrested; and Coke, whose patriotic vigour increased with his years and his disappointments at court, and who had boldly espoused the country party—as the popular party was called—in the preceding session, had been exposed to a prosecution for various offences and malpractices committed when he was a judge.* It was felt by the Commons that all this severity had been provoked by the expression of liberal opinions; and, putting aside Coke, though not until they attempted to prove that there was a conspiracy against him, they stood by the only other member of their House, Sir Edwin Sandys (against whom there were no legal proceedings), and, as he was sick in bed, they sent two members to wait upon him and hear from his own mouth the cause of his arbitrary arrest. Together with intelligence of these proceedings, James received information respecting a petition, proposed by Coke in the Commons, against the growth of popery and the Catholic marriage of the Prince of Wales, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war in the Palatinate. The petition encountered a strong opposition in the House; those who supported it were fain to agree to the insertion of a clause that "they did not mean to press on the king's most undoubted and royal prerogative;" and it neither passed nor was very likely to pass when James, proud of his finding the Commons in error in two cases in the preceding session, inflated by his extravagant notions of prerogative, and enraged and transported out of all discretion by this bold intermeddling with his *arcana imperii*, addressed a most absolute letter to Sir Thomas Richardson, the Speaker of the House of Commons.

* It is said that his wife, the implacable Lady Hatton, did her best to bring on this prosecution, and that she was privately assisted by Bacon, to whom she was bound, even in his disgrace, by a community of hatred against Coke.

The House received this letter with less warmth than might have been expected; but they were unanimous, or nearly so, in their resolution to disapprove of and resist the propositions it contained. They drew up a remonstrance in firm but mild and respectful language, telling the king that they could not conceive how his honour and safety, or the state of the kingdom, could be matters unfit for their consideration in parliament, and asserting their undoubted right of liberty of speech as an inheritance received from their ancestors. James replied at length, showing them how unfit they were for entering on high matters of government, and criticising the language of their remonstrance. In the end he told them that, although he could not allow of the style of calling their privileges an undoubted right and inheritance, but could rather have wished that they had said that their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of his ancestors and himself; yet, as long as they contained themselves within the limits of their duty, he would be as careful of their privileges as of his own prerogative, so that they never touched on that prerogative, which would enforce him or any just king to retrench their privileges. This was bringing matters to an issue: this was an explicit assertion on the part of the sovereign that the privileges of parliament existed only by sufferance, or depended entirely upon what the court might choose to consider good behaviour. The assertion exasperated the House beyond measure, and Secretary Calvert and other ministers or courtiers vainly attempted to pacify them by admitting that the king's expressions were incapable of defence, and calling them a mere slip of the pen. James, in a fright, wrote a letter to Calvert to qualify what he had said; but, even in this conciliatory epistle, he could not abstain from re-asserting that the liberties and privileges of the House were not of undoubted right and inheritance unless they were so from their being granted by the grace and favour of his predecessors on the throne: and therefore, on the memorable 18th of December, a day which forms an era in constitutional history, they drew up the following protestation:—

"The Commons, now assembled in parliament, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning sundry liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament, amongst others not herein mentioned, do make this protestation following:—That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king's state, and the defence of the realm, and of the Church of England, and the making and maintenance of laws, and redress of mischiefs and grievances, which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of counsel and debate in parliament; and that, in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, every member of the House hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same: that the Commons in parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of those matters, in such order as, in their judgments, shall seem fittest; and that every such member of the said House hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation (other than by the censure of the House itself), for or concerning any bill, speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the parliament or parliament business; and that, if any of the said members be complained of and questioned for anything said or done in parliament, the same is to be showed to the king, by the advice and assent of all the Commons assembled in parliament, before the king give credence to any private information." After a long and spirited debate (it lasted till the unusual hour of five or six in the evening, being carried on even by candle-light!*) the Commons entered this protestation in their journals, "as of record."

James's wrath overcame his caution and cowardice, and he forgot that he was reported sick: he rode up to London foaming or slavering at the mouth,—prorogued parliament,—ordered the clerk of the House of Commons

* This is one of the earliest instances of a debate by candle-light.

to bring him the journals,—erased the famous protestation with his own royal hand, in the presence of the judges of the land and a full assembly of the council,—commanded an act of council to be made thereon, and what he had done to be entered in the council-book,—and a few days after (on the 6th of January, 1622) dissolved the parliament by an insulting proclamation.*

The first act the king did to make good his promise to govern well during the suspension of parliament was to commit Coke and Sir Robert Phillips to the Tower,—Mr. Selden, Mr. Pym, and Mr. Mallery to other prisons,—and to send Sir Dudley Digges, Sir Thomas Crew, Sir Nathaniel Rich, and Sir James Parott on a commission into Ireland, as a sort of a cover for banishment. It will be remembered that an opposition party had sprung up in the House of Lords; therefore several of the peers were called before the privy council, and one or two of them committed to the Tower.

It is said that Prince Charles was rather constant in his attendance in the House of Lords during this most significant session; but, if so, he certainly had neither the good sense nor the good fortune to understand its meanings and indications, or to perceive the great changes men's minds were undergoing,—the mighty events that were indeed casting their shadows before them.

A.D. 1622-3.—At this time the popular feeling was greatly excited by the misfortunes and sufferings of the king's daughter, which, by a little exaggeration, were heightened into a wonderfully dramatic interest. The young and the brave declared themselves her champions, and troubled James with their enthusiasm. Every step that the Palatine took was a blunder, and James could do little for him but send more ambassadors. His relation, the King of Denmark, was no longer able or willing to do him service; and the Dutch, who were said to have contributed to all his troubles, by urging him to accept the crown of Bohemia, could not do much by themselves. The Catholics of Antwerp turned all these

* Rymer.—Rushworth.—Parl. Hist.—Coke.—Carte.

illustrious parties into ridicule in their public theatres. At the same time they pictured King James, at one place with a scabbard without a sword; in another with a sword which nobody could pull out of its sheath, though many kept tugging at it.

The French, out of their ancient rivalry and jealousy of the House of Austria, and their love of war, would have been disposed to strike a blow for the dispossessed prince; but their young king, like our old king, was ruled by a despicable favourite;† their court was occupied by profligate intrigues and selfish factions; and their country was again the scene of a civil and religious war, for the Huguenots about this time rushed or were driven into open hostilities. Instead of being in a condition to lead an army to the Rhine, Louis XIII. saw himself compelled to lay siege to his own cities in the heart of France. The French Protestants, as usual, applied to England for assistance; but all that James could do for them was to transmit a few diplomatic messages to their young king.

The Count Mansfeldt, and Prince Christian of Brunswick, after maintaining a wild sort of war, more on their own account than on that of the ex-King of Bohemia, evacuated the Palatinate, and took service with the Dutch; and James, who found it burdensome to pay the garrison, and who wished to propitiate his Catholic majesty, delivered up Frankendael to the Spaniards, upon their promise of restoring it if a satisfactory peace were not concluded in eighteen months. The emperor had already given the greater part of the Palatine's territories to the Duke of Bavaria. Without kingdom or electorate, without a province, without a house or home of his own, the luckless Palatine, with his wife and family, was left to subsist at the Hague upon a Dutch pension. But the Solomon of his age, his loving father-in-law, who found

† His favourite was one Monsieur de Luynes, who, in his non-age, gained much upon the king by making hawks to fly at all little birds in his gardens, and by making some of those catch butterflies.—*Life of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, written by himself.*

a gratification in the fulfilment of his own prophecy, and who was little touched by his disgrace, saw elevation in this depression—a light in all this darkness. He had done the will of Spain in many things; he was doing it in more, even at the risk of a civil war at home; and he deluded himself with imagining that he had at last removed all obstacles to the Spanish match, and that the treaty of marriage would be followed by the entire restitution of the Palatinate to his son-in-law. Philip III. had died in the month of March, 1621, and had been succeeded by his son Philip IV., brother to the intended bride of Prince Charles. The Lord Digby, now Earl of Bristol, and special ambassador to the young sovereign, reported that he was favourable to the match, but that Philip could not marry his sister to a Protestant without a dispensation from the pope, and a full assurance that she should be left to the enjoyment of her own conscience and her own religion in England. Gondomar, who had returned from London to Madrid, to forward, as he said, the plans and wishes of his royal friend and boon companion, gave equally hopeful assurances. In fact, the King of Spain applied to Rome for a dispensation. James, impatient of delay—and the churchmen of Rome were seldom quick in these matters—despatched an agent of his own (Mr. George Gage) to the Vatican, while his favourite, Buckingham, employed another. Nay, in his anxiety, James did what he had done before in Scotland—he wrote himself two letters to the pope, or rather to two popes, for there was a death and a new election during the negotiations.

It was well for James that the secret correspondence with Rome was not discovered by the Puritans, who, however, were wonderfully disquieted by certain proceedings which arose out of it, and James's eagerness to gratify the Pope. If what he did had been his own free and disinterested act, it would have entitled him to high praise. He issued pardons for recusancy to all English Catholics that should apply for them; and he ordered the judges on their circuits to discharge from prison every recusant that could find security for his reappear-

ance. The prisoners thus liberated were counted by thousands. All the zealots took the alarm, and the Lord Bishop, and Lord-keeper Williams, to quiet their fears, represented, by order of the king, that this lenity was only meant to secure better treatment for the Protestants abroad; and that, though the recusants were released from prison, they had still the shackles about their heels, and might be seized again at the shortest notice.

By the month of January, 1623, such progress was made in the Spanish match, that James and his son signed articles, promising that the English Catholics should be relieved from all kinds of persecution, and permitted to have their masses and other ceremonies in their own houses; and the Spanish king agreed to give his sister two millions of ducats, and to celebrate the espousals at Madrid (the Prince of Wales being represented by proxy), within forty days after the arrival of the dispensation from Rome. James wished to have the money; Charles wished to shorten the period, which, according to Spanish etiquette, was to elapse between the espousals and the actual marriage; and both appear to have apprehended that the business, which had already been seven years on the carpet, might still be spun out a year or two longer, if left to the management of ministers and diplomatists. Charles and Buckingham suddenly made up their minds to become travellers. If the precious scheme had not been seconded by the all-prevailing minion, it would assuredly have failed through the opposition of the king. Various motives are assigned for Buckingham's going into it with the eagerness he did: according to some, he already hated the Earl of Bristol, and was jealous of the consideration and the influence over the mind of the Spanish Infanta, which that nobleman would obtain, if he were left to bring the match to completion, and conduct the bride into England; while Clarendon says, not only that he entered into the scheme to gain favour with the prince, but that he originated it, and that it was "the beginning of an entire confidence between them, after a long time of declared jealousy and

displeasure on the prince's part, and occasion enough administered on the other." One morning Charles waited upon his father, declaring that he had an earnest desire and suit upon which the happiness of his life depended; but that, as the doing or not doing what he desired depended wholly and entirely upon his majesty's approbation and command, he would not communicate the substance of his suit without his father's promise to decide upon it himself, and not to consult with, or communicate the secret to, any person whatsoever. James gave this promise, and then grew very eager to know what this great secret could be. Then, watching the moods and turns of the king's humour, and seizing their opportunity, Charles fell on his knees, and stated his request, the duke standing by without saying a word. The king talked over the whole matter to the prince with less passion than they expected, and then looked at the favourite, as inclined to hear what he would say. Buckingham spoke nothing to the point, but enlarged upon the infinite obligation his majesty would confer upon the prince by his yielding to the violent passion his highness was transported with; and then, after he had gone on to state that his refusal would make a deep impression upon the spirits and peace of mind of his only son, Charles, seeing that his father was touched, put in his word, and represented that his arrival at Madrid must certainly be presently followed by his marriage, and in a moment determine the restitution of the Palatinate to his brother and sister. "These discourses, urged with all the artifice and address imaginable, so far wrought upon and prevailed with the king, that, with less hesitation than his nature was accustomed to, and much less than was agreeable to his great wisdom, he gave his approbation, and promised that the prince should make the journey he was so much inclined to."* But as soon as James was left to his reflections he bitterly repented; and, when his son and favourite next presented themselves, he fell into a great passion with

* Clarendon.

tears, and told them that he was undone, and that it would break his heart if they persisted; and after exposing to them the uselessness and danger of such a journey, the power it would give the Spaniards, the jealousies and suspicions it would excite among the English, he implored them to release him from his promise, and concluded as he had begun, with sighs and tears. Neither the prince nor the favourite took any pains to answer the reasons his majesty had insisted on; but Charles put him in mind of the sacredness of his promise, telling him that the breaking of it would make him never more think of marriage; and Buckingham, who, according to the royalist historian, better knew what kind of arguments were of force with him, treated him more rudely, telling him that nobody could believe anything he said, when he retracted so soon the promise he had so solemnly made; and that he plainly perceived it all proceeded from another breach of his word, in communicating with some rascal who had furnished him with those pitiful reasons. His majesty passionately, and with many oaths, denied that he had communicated the matter to any person living; and presently, conquered by the "humble and importunate entreaty" of his son, and "the rougher dialect of his favourite, he withdrew his opposition to the journey; and it was settled that in two days they should take their leave," his highness pretending to hunt at Theobald's, and the duke to take physic at Chelsea. They told the king that, as it was before resolved they should only take two persons with them, they selected Sir Francis Cottington and Endymion Porter as men grateful to his majesty, and well acquainted with Spain. The king approved of their choice, and called for Sir Francis Cottington, who was in waiting. "Cottington will be against the journey," whispered Buckingham to th prince. "No, Sir," said Charles, "he *dares* not." But the prince was somewhat mistaken; for, when the king told Cottington that Baby Charles and Steenie had a mind to go by post into Spain, to fetch home the Infanta, and commanded him to tell him, as an honest man,

what he thought about it, Cottington, after such a trembling that he could hardly speak, told the king that the expedition was unwise and unsafe; and then the king threw himself upon his bed, crying, "I told you so, I told you so before; I shall be undone, and lose Baby Charles." The prince and Buckingham were furious, and the latter fell upon poor Cottington as if he had been a courier or post-boy, telling him that he should repent his presumption as long as he lived. This put the king into a new agony. "Nay, by God, Steenie," said he, "you are very much to blame to use him so: he answered me directly to the question I asked him, and very honestly and wisely." After all this passion on both sides, James again yielded, plainly perceiving, it is said, that the whole intrigue had been originally contrived by Buckingham, whom he durst not oppose, and whom Clarendon says he was never well pleased with afterwards. On the 17th of February, 1623, the two knights-errant took their leave of the king, and on the following day they began their journey from New Hall, in Essex, a seat which Buckingham had recently purchased, setting out with disguised beards and borrowed names. The prince was John Smith—the noble marquis, Thomas Smith. They were attended only by Sir Richard Graham, master of the horse to the marquis, and "of inward trust about him." On crossing the river to Gravesend they excited suspicion, by giving a piece of gold to the ferry-man, and were near being stopped at Rochester. On ascending the hill beyond that city they were perplexed at seeing the French ambassador in the king's coach, "which made them baulk the road, and teach post hackneys to leap hedges." At Canterbury an officious mayor would have arrested them, but Buckingham took off his beard, and told him who he was. Then, on the road, the baggage post-boy, who had been at court, got a glimmering who they were, but his mouth was easily shut—at least so they thought. At Dover they found Sir Francis Cottington and Master Endymion Porter, who had been sent before to provide a vessel; and on the following morning they hoisted

their adventurous sails for the French coast.* Even as a masquerade the performance did them little credit, for they were discovered nearly everywhere they went; and as for their secret being kept at court, it was blown abroad through town and country almost as soon as they put on their false beards. For a day or two, however, it was not known whither they had directed their steps. When it was discovered that the prince was going to Spain, to throw himself among priests and monks, familiars and inquisitors, there was a dreadful consternation among the people, who declared at once that he would never come back alive, or, if he did, he would come a Papist.

Meanwhile, the prince and Buckingham, or, as the king addressed them, the "sweet boys and dear venturous knights, worthy to be put in a new romanso," continued their journey in disguise. Late one night the English ambassador at Paris, Mr. Edward Herbert, afterwards Lord Herbert of Cherbury, was waited upon by one Andrews, a Scotchman, who asked him whether he had seen the prince. The ambassador asked what prince? "He told me," says Herbert, "the Prince of Wales, which yet I could not believe easily, until, with many oaths, he affirmed the prince was in France, and that he had charge to follow his highness, desiring me, in the mean while, on the part of the king, my master, to serve his passage the best I could."† Though nettled that the prince should have passed without visiting him and letting him into the secret, Herbert, full of anxiety for his safety, went, very early the next morning, to Monsieur Puisieux, principal secretary of state, whom in his urgency he dragged out of bed, telling him he had important business to despatch. The French secretary's first words were, "I know your business as well as you. Your prince is departed this morning post to Spain!" And then he added that he would suffer him quietly to hold his way without interrupting him. The French ministry certainly did not regard the matrimonial alli-

* Reliq. Wotton.

† Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

ance between England and Spain with pleasant feelings; but what they more immediately apprehended was that Charles, who was stealing secretly through their kingdom, might have dangerous communications with the disaffected or revolting Huguenots; and, when Herbert requested that no one might be sent after him, the secretary replied, politely and adroitly, that he could do no less than send some one to know how the prince fared on his journey. The hint was enough: Herbert hurried home and despatched a courier after Charles, warning him to make all the haste he could out of France, and not to treat with any of the religion on the way, since his being in Paris was publicly known. The ambassador afterwards learned that Charles had spent the whole of the preceding day in "seeing the French court and city of Paris, without that anybody did know his person, but a maid that had sold linen heretofore in London, who, seeing him pass by, said, certainly this is the Prince of Wales."* On that same night the prince had written to tell his father how he and Buckingham had been at court, without being known by any one, where he saw the young queen, and little Monsieur, and nineteen "fair dancing ladies" practising a masque, and the queen was the handsomest of them all, which had wrought in him the greater desire to see her sister.† Among these fair dancing ladies was one really destined to become his wife, and it has been suspected that the dark eyes of Henrietta Maria now fascinated Charles, and that he went to pay his court to the Infanta with his mind preoccupied by another. At Bayonne the venturous knights were detained and examined, and, for a moment, fancied they would not be allowed to proceed across the Pyrenees; but their fears proved to be unfounded, and they presently crossed the Spanish frontier. At the close of an evening towards the end of March two mules stopped

* Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

† Charles's letter to the king, dated Paris, the 22nd of February, 1623, in Sir Henry Ellis. Anne of Austria, the young French queen, was elder sister to the infanta Donna Maria.

at the house of my Lord of Bristol in Madrid. The riders alighted. Mr. Thomas Smith went in first with a portmanteau under his arm; and then Mr. John Smith, who staid awhile on the other side of the street in the dark, was sent for. When the diplomatist recognised in this John Smith the heir to the English crown, and in Thomas the Marquis of Buckingham, he stared as if he had seen two ghosts; but presently he took the prince up to his bed-chamber, wrote a letter, and despatched a courier that night to acquaint the King of England how his son, in less than sixteen days, had arrived safely at the capital of Spain. The next day Sir Francis Cottington and Mr. Porter rode into Madrid, the prince and Buckingham having out-ridden them.* Knowing that their arrival must be discovered, and not wishing the discovery to be made by a postilion, the prince and the favourite lost no time in sending for Count Gondomar, the man who had sent Raleigh to the block, and who was now in very high favour at court. Gondomar hastened to Lord Bristol's and then back to the palace (we must use the words of Charles, in the joint letter he and Buckingham wrote to Solomon), "and presently went to the Condé of Olivares, and as speedily got me your dog Steenie a private audience of the king; and, when I was to return back to my lodging, the Condé of Olivares himself alone would accompany me back again to salute the prince in his king's name." "The next day" (we continue the story in the appropriate language of the other chief performer in it) "we had a private visit of the king, the queen, the Infanta, Don Carlos, and the cardinal, in the sight of all the world, and I may call it a private obligation hidden from nobody; for there was the pope's nuncio, the emperor's ambassador, the French, and all the streets filled with guards and other people; before the king's coach went the best of the nobility, after followe all the ladies of the court; we sat in an invisible coach because nobody was suffered to take notice of it, thoug seen by all the world: in this form they passed thre

* Howell.

times by us, but before we could get away, the Condé of Olivares came into our coach and conveyed us home, where he told us the king longed and died for want of a nearer sight of our wooer. First, he took me in his coach to go to the king; we found him walking in the streets, with his cloak thrown over his face, and a sword and buckler by his side; he leaped into the coach, and away he came to find the wooer in another place appointed, where they passed much kindness and compliment one to another." Steenie goes on to tell his master that Philip is in raptures with the journey and with the prince; that Olivares, the potent favourite, had told him, that very morning, that, if the pope would not give a dispensation for a wife, they would give the Infanta to his son Baby "as his wench;" and that he had just written to the pope's nephew, entreating him to hasten the dispensation. He then mentions that the pope's nuncio, at Madrid, was working maliciously against the match, and concludes with these ominous words: "We make this collection, that the pope will be very loth to grant a dispensation, which, if he will not do, *then we would gladly have your directions how far we may engage you in the acknowledgment of the pope's special power, for we almost find, if you will be contented to acknowledge the pope chief head under Christ, that the match will be made without him.*"* Meanwhile all honour was paid by the Spanish court to the Prince of Wales; grandees were appointed to attend him, and various diversions were proposed to amuse him till the time of his solemn entrance and public reception. On the Sunday afternoon, Charles having signified his desire to see his bride again, the king went abroad to take the air with the queen, his two brothers, and the infanta, who were all in one coach; but the Infanta sat in the boot with a blue ribbon about her arm, on purpose

* Hardwicke State Papers. This letter, like the many other joint letters, is signed, "Your majesty's humble and obedient son and servant, Charles—Your humble slave and dog, Steenie."—This name, the Scotch for Stephen, is said to have been bestowed by James upon his minion in allusion to St. Stephen, who is always painted as a good-looking saint.

that the prince might distinguish her. The royal carriage was followed by twenty coaches, full of grandees and ladies. Then his highness of Wales, with the Earl of Bristol and Gondomar, took coach and drove to the Prado, where he met and passed the king's carriage three several times. As there had been no public presentation, etiquette did not allow his majesty to notice the prince or stop his coach; but as soon as the infanta saw the prince, her colour rose.* The Infanta, Donna Maria, who was then in the bloom of youth, is thus described by the lively and attentive observer of these doings:—"She is a very comely lady, rather of a Flemish complexion than Spanish, fair-haired, and carrying a most pure mixture of red and white in her face. She is full and big-lipped, which is held a beauty rather than a blemish."† In the following week Charles was amused with hunting and hawking, and parties of pleasure to the Casa de Campo; but on Sunday he was conducted to the royal monastery of St. Jerome, whence the kings of Spain were wont to proceed on the day of their coronation. As soon as he was there, Philip, attended by his two brothers, his eight ministers of state, and the flower of the Spanish nobility, went to bring him back in triumph to Madrid. Charles rode at the king's right hand, through the heart of the town under a great canopy, and was brought so into his lodgings in the king's palace, and the king himself accompanied him to his very bed-chamber. From his apartment (it was the most magnificent in the palace) Charles proceeded to visit the royal family. Four chairs of precisely equal size (an important matter) were placed under a canopy of state; one for the king, one for the queen, one for the Infanta, and one for his highness of Wales. The Earl of Bristol attended as usual as interpreter, for Charles knew no Spanish, and the royal personages possessed no one language in common.‡ When Charles went back to his chamber, he found many costly

* Howell's Letters. † Howell.

‡ Flores, Reynas de España, as quoted by Mr. Dunlop, Memoirs of Spain during the reigns of Philip IV. and Charles II., from 1621 to 1700.

presents which the queen had sent him. Though he had arrived so poorly attended, the Prince of Wales had by this time a pretty numerous retinue, which kept increasing with fresh arrivals from England. James made haste to send the Earl of Carlisle to the French court to excuse his son's incognito. Carlisle was accompanied by Lord Mountjoy; and when they had given their explanations at Paris, these two lords rode on towards Madrid. A few days after this James hurried off in the same track Master Kirk and Master Gabriel to carry Georges and Garters with all speed, and the Lords Holland, Rochfort, Denbigh, Andover, Vaughan, and Kensington, and a whole troop of courtiers, to keep "the sweet boys" company. Others followed from time to time, some going by land and some by sea—some receiving money from the king, and some defraying their own expenses. Archibald Armstrong, the famous court fool, was among these travellers to Madrid, so that, by the time they all arrived, his royal highness must have had a tolerably complete court. This said Archy, notwithstanding his profession and the cap and bells, was a stout Presbyterian or Puritan, and, as such, very much averse to the Catholic match. "Our cousin Archy," says the attentive observer of this court comedy, "hath more privilege than any; for he often goes with his fool's coat where the Infanta is with her Meninas and ladies of honour, and keeps a blowing and blustering among them, and blurts out what he list."* They were altogether an ill-bred, disorderly crew, and the wonder is, that with such conflicting prejudices, and such fiery tempers as those of the Spaniards, they did not get knocked on the head. Before quarrelling about religion, they quarrelled about cookery—a point on which nationality is extremely susceptible, every people considering their own kitchen, like their own religion, not merely the best, but the only good one in the world. King Philip, a weak youth of nineteen, but accomplished, cheerful, and good-natured, associated familiarly with Charles, who was four years his senior; but

* Howell.

not only the rigid etiquette of that court, but also the universal custom of the country, were opposed to any *tête-à-tête*, or private meetings, between the English prince and his bride. He was, however, allowed plenty of opportunities of seeing her in company. But though the prince was very demure in public, he ventured upon a freak of a very strange and indecorous kind. "Understanding," says Howell, in a letter to Captain Thomas Porter, "that the Infanta was used to go some mornings to the Casa de Campo, a summer-house the king hath on the other side the river, to gather *May-dew*, he rose betimes, and went thither, taking your brother (Endymion Porter) with him; they were let into the house, and into the garden, but the Infanta was in the orchard. And there being a high partition wall between, and the door doubly bolted, the prince got on the top of the wall, and sprung down a great height, and so made towards her; but she, spying him first of all the rest, gave a shriek, and ran back: the old marquis that was then her guardian came towards the prince, and fell on his knees, conjuring his highness to retire, in regard he hazarded his head if he admitted any to her company; so the door was opened, and he came out under that wall over which he had got in."

One of the graces conferred on Charles was the release of all the prisoners in Madrid, and the royal promise that, for a whole month, any petition presented through him should be granted; but he showed himself wonderfully sparing in receiving any such petitions, especially from any Englishman, Irishman, or Scot.* Bull-fights,† feasts, fencing-matches, religious processions, tournaments, hunts, and feasts, were exhibited in

* Howell. Gondomar, of his own accord, helped to free some English that were in the Inquisition at Toledo and Seville.

† Some of these bull-fights were very splendid, with loss of life to men and horses. "The pope," saith the facetious Howell, "hath sent divers bulls against this sport of bulling; yet it will not be left, the nation hath taken such an habitual delight in it."

rapid succession, to while away the time. Charles began to study Spanish—the Infanta English. King James, in one of his paternal letters, besought Baby Charles and Steenie not to forget their dancing, though they should whistle and sing the one to the other, like Jack and Tom, for fault of better music. "But," he adds in the same letter, "you must be as sparing as you can in your spending, for your officers are already put to the height of their speed to provide the five thousand pounds by exchange, and now your tilting stuff, which they know not how to provide, will come to three more; and God knows how my coffers are already drained. I know no remedy, except you procure the speedy payment of that hundred and fifty thousand pounds which was once promised to be advanced . . . . . I pray you, my baby, take heed of being hurt if you run a tilt."* But James was not blind to the peril of acting upon Charles's and Buckingham's suggestions of acknowledging the pope; and in reply to that particular part of their letter, he told them that he knew not what was meant by his acknowledging the pope's spiritual supremacy. Buckingham, whose mother was an avowed papist—and in all things this woman had the greatest influence over her son—would, in all probability, have voted readily for a change in religion; but the decided feelings of some of the English people about him, and his own reflections, shallow as they were, must have dispelled any such perilous notions. That the Spanish court flattered itself with the hope of reclaiming Prince Charles, and, by his means, reconciling the English nation to the church of Rome—nay, that efforts were made to bring about this great end—is undeniable; and if Charles was, as that not very religious courtier, the Earl of Carlisle, expressed it, well grounded "in piety and knowledge of the religion wherein he was bred," and if he escaped the dogmas of papal supremacy, purgatory, and transubstantiation, he certainly contracted a fondness—a passion—which afterwards proved fatal to him, for a gorgeous hierarchy and a

* Sir H. Ellis.

splendid ceremonial in the Anglican church. Nor did he ever frankly close the door to the Spaniard's hope, or honestly declare, that neither his conviction nor his interest would permit him to recant. Every part of this story is interesting and important, as tending to throw light on the character of Charles. He entreated his father to advise as little with his council as was possible, but to trust to the discretion of himself and Buckingham; and he asked and obtained from the weakness of James a pledge of full power, conceived in the following words, which he and Buckingham had remitted as a copy: "We do hereby promise, by the word of a king, that whatsoever you our son shall promise in our name, we shall punctually perform."* The Catholic refugees from England gathered round the prince and Buckingham, and were for some time cheered with the prospect of a most ample toleration in their native land, if not of the re-establishment of their religion to the exclusion of all other faiths. The priests tampered with Charles's attendants and servants, a kind of proceeding which greatly irritated the sturdier Protestants. One day Sir Edmund Varney found a learned priest, a doctor of the Sorbonne, by the bedside of one of the prince's pages, who was sick of a deadly fever, and he put a stop to his labours of conversion by doubling his fists instead of arguments, and hitting the priest under the ear.†

At the same time the Spanish court represented to the pope that Prince Charles would become a good Catholic, or, if he did not, would secure every advantage to the professors of that religion in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Gregory XV. had already written to the inquisitor-general of Spain, expressing his desire that the most should be made of the opportunity offered by Heaven itself. "We understand," says the pope, "that the Prince of Wales, the king of Great Britain's son is lately arrived there, carried with a hope of Catholi marriage. Our desire is that he should not stay in vai

* Hardwicke State Papers.

† Rushworth. Howell tells the same story, a day or tw after it happened.

in the courts of those kings to whom the defence of the pope's authority, and care of advancing religion, hath procured the renowned name of Catholic. Wherefore, by apostolic letters, we exhort his Catholic Majesty that he would gently endeavour sweetly to reduce that prince to the obedience of the Roman church," &c.* Soon after Gregory addressed a gentle letter to Prince Charles himself, exhorting him to embrace the religion of his ancestors, and expressing his hope that, as he intended to match with a Catholic damsel, he would give new life to that piety for which the kings of England had been so celebrated.† The proofs on record are too numerous and glaring to permit us to challenge the position that Charles was an early proficient in hypocrisy. He wrote a letter to the pope, in reverential terms, calling him Most Holy Father, telling him how much he deplored the divisions in the Christian church, and how anxious he was to restore union.‡ Gregory XV. died before this epistle reached Rome, but his successor, Urban VIII., considered it as equivalent to a recantation, and, in answering it, the new pontiff said, "We lifted up our hands to heaven, and gave thanks to the Father of mercies, when, in the very entry of our reign, a British prince began to perform this kind of obedience to the Pope of Rome."§ The events of the Vatican occasioned delay. Gregory had despatched a dispensation, which was in the hands of the legate at Madrid, who, however, had orders not to deliver it until he had made a surer bargain with the English court as to a full toleration, *at least*, of the Catholic religion; and now the Spanish court declared that it was essential to obtain a confirmation of the bull from the new pope. Olivares, moreover,

* Scrin. Sacra. † Rushworth.

‡ Charles's letter, in Latin, is given in the Hardwicke State Papers, from the original draught. Clarendon said of it—and he might have said something more—"This letter to the pope is more than compliment; and may be a warning that nothing is to be done or said in that nice argument but what will bear the light."—*Clarendon State Papers.*

§ Rushworth.

remodelled the matrimonial treaty, inserting several new clauses.* It was provided that the Infanta should have an open oratory, or chapel, in the palace, that she should choose the nurses and governesses of her children, and that her children should be brought up by her till they were at least ten years of age; that her children's proving Catholics should not exclude them from the succession; and, finally, that the King of England should give security for the fulfilment of these stipulations. James ratified all these clauses, but as for security, he could give none beyond his word, and that was not very highly valued. His majesty, however, did not sign without hesitation and fear: he felt that to obtain the sanction of his parliament would be impossible; but that which "pinched and perplexed him most," was, that he had given his power to Prince Charles, according to which power his royal highness had already concluded all these articles, and promised the required security: so that now "it went upon the honour of his majesty and the prince, and perhaps upon the liberty of his highness, his power to return home, and the safety of his person." The chosen counsellors met the king at Wanstead. "His majesty," says Secretary Conway, "made the most serious, the most sad, fatherly, kind, kingly, wise, pious, manly, stout speech that ever I heard, which no man can repeat or relate (without blemishing) but himself. But this effect it wrought—all the lords were of opinion that his highness's words and articles must be made good; that the oath by the council must be taken; and with one voice gave counsel (as without which nothing could be well) that the prince must marry and bring his lady away with him this year—this old year; or else, the prince presently to return without marriage or contract; leaving both those to be accomplished by the usual forms."† A day or two after this meeting

* By this time Buckingham had quarrelled with the Spanish favourite. Howell saw that these bickerings might "*renverse* this business of so high a consequence."

† Letter from Secretary Conway to the Duke of Buckingham, in Ellis.

Wanstead, both the king and the lords of the council swore to observe the treaty in the Chapel Royal at Westminster. Several of the lords who took this oath, which was valueless and strictly illegal without consent of parliament, did it unwillingly, through fear or interest. Among them was Abbot, the half-Puritan primate, who had been in great trouble and humiliation on account of an unhappy accident.* James afterwards privately swore to observe certain secret articles in the treaty. The Spanish ambassadors then desired that he would make a beginning, and publish a proclamation forbidding all persecution of Catholics; but James, fearful of so public a measure, told them that a proclamation was but a suspension of the law, which might be made void by another proclamation, and which did not bind a successor. Still, however, the two Spanish diplomatists fought hard for the proclamation. James offered in lieu to give an indemnity to the Catholics for the time to come, to give order for a pardon for all things past that stood to the advantage of the king and in his power to release; and for the time to come, to give a dispensation from all penal laws, statutes, or ordinances whatsoever. But when the proposed immunity, with a prohibition to bishops, judges, and magistrates, was submitted to the Lord Keeper Williams, he refused to issue it as being a dangerous thing without a precedent.† The ambassadors, who must have learned and seen that James and his son

* Abbot, while hunting with the Lord Zouch, shot a gamekeeper instead of a fat buck, at which he had taken aim. In consequence of this unintentional homicide, the archbishop, according to canon law, had become incapacitated for exercising his functions. After suffering much anxiety, he was absolved by James, who claimed the same kind of power which the Catholics acknowledged in the pope. This obligation, however, did not always bind the primate to the king's will; he repeatedly resisted that will; and if his motives are not altogether above suspicion, it will be difficult to deny to Abbot the credit of more courage than can be allowed to the rest of the bishops.

† Hardwicke State Papers.

contracted for far more than they could perform, intimated to their court that a full toleration of the Catholics in England was all but hopeless. At the same time, with the usual sincerity of diplomatists, they told the King of England that his majesty had fulfilled every jot of that he was bound to, and more;* and James prepared presents and jewels—Buckingham and his son had almost emptied his purse and his diamond cases before this†—to be laid at the feet of the Infanta, and a small fleet of ships to carry her to England with her sweet husband. At London it was generally believed that this long treaty was settled at last, and even at Madrid grand festivals were given as if in honour of the approaching union. But Olivares, the pope's nuncio, and a junta of Spanish priests, to whom the business was referred, found many reasons for avoiding a final settlement; and still the new pope delayed sending a new dispensation. When it was perceived that Charles, and, still more, the double favourite Buckingham, were eager to return home, it was proposed that the marriage, when the pope was willing, should be solemnised in Spain, and that the princess and her dower should not be sent to England till the spring of the following year, by which time his English majesty would be able to carry into effect his good intentions towards his Catholic subjects. But this proposal was odious to James, who had set his heart upon having a large instalment immediately; and he again urged his son and Buckingham to return home, with the Infanta, and some money if possible,—if not, without them. It is probable, however, that the poor king might long have urged their return in vain, if it had not been for the quarrels and disgust which Buckingham had excited at Madrid, and for certain fears and jealousies he entertained of what was passing in London. Since his departure from England, that he might be more on level with the grandees, James had made him a duke

* Hardwicke State Papers.

† For some time after their arrival in Spain every letter from Buckingham and the prince contained a demand for jewels,—jewels,—more jewels!

but no move in the soiled and disgraced peerage-book could elevate this man's mind or improve his manners. His levity, choleric disposition, and low profligacy, disgusted the whole court; and the freedoms he took with the Prince of Wales excited the greatest astonishment, and lowered Charles, who permitted them. He called his royal highness by all kinds of ridiculous nicknames, lolled about his room with clothes half on, and kept his hat on his head while the prince was uncovered. He introduced loose and improper company into the very palace. It had been predicted to James that the two great favourites of two mighty kings would never agree; and the prediction was more than verified. It should be stated, however, in fairness, that, bad as he was, Olivares was a gentleman, and that he invariably acted with a decency and dignity of which the English upstart was altogether incapable. Philip himself was greatly disgusted, and said that his sister must be wretched if so violent and unprincipled a man was to enjoy the confidence and friendship of her husband. Buckingham, fool as he was, saw clearly that he was hated by the whole Spanish court, and that, if Charles married the Infanta, he would always have an enemy at the English court,—that if she acquired the natural influence of a wife over the prince, she might break the string with which he had hitherto led both son and father. And at the same time Buckingham was warned by Bishop Laud, and other friends or creatures of his faction, that the party of Lord Bristol were making head in England; that certain persons were so bold as to complain of his insolence and abuses of power; that the king listened to their complaints; and that there would be a complete revolution at court unless he returned forthwith to manage his old master. If Charles had not been apprehensive about their liberty and safety, he would have called for horses, and ridden away at once with his dear Steenie;* but, as it was, he submitted to a course of mental reser-

* "There were whisperings," says Howell, "that the prince intended to run away disguised, as he came; and the question being asked by a person of quality, there was a

vation, evasion, lying, and perjury. There may be some doubt entertained with respect to the sincerity of the Spanish court, but the conduct of the Prince of Wales has not the benefit of the shadow of a doubt. He fancied that, if he failed to give them satisfaction, or cast a slight upon their princess, the Spaniards would detain him as a state prisoner; and he was ready to promise and vow whatever they chose, in order to get safe out of their country, fully resolving to break all these engagements as soon as he conveniently might. He intimated to his Catholic Majesty that his father, who was growing old and sick, had commanded him to return, and that his presence was indispensable to quiet the alarms of the English people at his long absence, as well as to prepare them for the reception of his Catholic wife, and for that toleration of all Catholics, which had been settled by treaty. Philip and Olivares readily agreed to take charge of the dispensation when it should arrive, and to have the espousals celebrated *before* Christmas, *at the latest;* and Charles agreed to lodge a procuration, with full powers, in the hands of the Earl of Bristol, who was to deliver it to Philip ten days after the arrival of the expected paper from Rome, and to name the king, or his brother, the Infant Don Carlos, as proxy. Charles, in the presence of the Patriarch of the Indies, solemnly swore with Philip upon the Scriptures, to observe and faithfully keep this agreement. The Infanta Donna Maria took the title of Princess of England, and a separate court was formed for her by her brother. Charles now prepared to depart, and Buckingham got all things ready with amazing alacrity.* Philip presented the Prince with some fine Spanish and Barbary horses, various pictures by the great Titian, a masterpiece of Correggio's, and various other articles indicative

brave answer made—That if love brought him hither, it was not fear should drive him back."

* There were doubts entertained as to his intentions; but so much did Charles deceive his own countrymen, that wagers of thirty to one were offered among the English at Madrid, that the marriage would still take effect.—*Howell.*

of his taste, as well as of his liberality. The young Queen of Spain gave a great many bags of amber, with some dressed kid skins, and linen; Olivares gave a few choice Italian pictures, three sedan chairs of curious workmanship, and some costly articles of furniture; and the chief grandees all gave something, as horses, fine mules with trappings, &c. &c. In return, the Prince of Wales gave to the king an enamelled hilt for a sword and a dagger, studded with precious stones, to the queen a pair of curious earrings, and to the Infanta a string of pearls, and a diamond anchor as the *emblem of his constancy*.* At his parting interview with the young queen and Donna Maria, Charles played the part of a disconsolate lover, forced from the object of his passionate affections. The Infanta gave him a letter written with her own hand for the celebrated nun of Carrion, who had attained in her lifetime to the reputation of a beatified woman, praying him to deliver it in person, with the hope, no doubt, of his being converted by the sight of so much holiness; and the princess afterwards caused an extra mass to be said for his safe voyage. Gondomar, the Count of Monterey, and other noblemen, were ordered to accompany the prince all the way to St. Andero, where the English fleet was lying under the command of Lord Rutland. But Philip himself, with his two brothers, would see his highness on his road: they travelled with him to the Escurial, where they en-

* Mendoza (in the Italian translation). There is a letter from Buckingham to the king, announcing the fine things they were bringing away with them, at which it is impossible not to laugh. "Four asses you I have sent, two hes and two shes. Five camels, two hes, two shes, with a young one; and one elephant, which is worth your seeing. These I have impudently begged for you. There is a Barbary horse comes with them, I think from Watt Aston. My Lord Bristol sayeth, he will send you more camels. When we come ourselves, we will bring you horses and asses enough. If I may know whether you desire mules or not, I will bring them, or deer of this country either. And I will lay wait for all the rare colour birds that can be heard of."—*Ellis.*

tertained him splendidly for several days, and then, as if loth to part, they went on with him as far as Campillo. "When the king and he parted, there passed wonderful great endearments and embraces in divers postures between them a long time; and in that place there was a pillar to be erected as a monument to posterity."* Passing through Segovia, Valladolid, by the cell of the nun of Carrion, travelling by easy journeys, and lodging in the castles of the provincial nobility, who, everywhere, gave him a most kind and hospitable reception, Charles at length reached the seaport. He had a narrow escape from drowning while going in a boat from the town of St. Andero to the admiral's ship. His first remark on finding himself in safety was, that he had duped the Spaniards; that the Spaniards were fools to let him depart so freely!

The voyage was most prosperous, and the prince and Buckingham landed safely at Portsmouth on the 5th of October.† For some days there was nothing but a ringing of bells, a making of bonfires, with drums, guns, and fireworks; and, without waiting for the word of command from king or bishop, several zealous preachers offered public thanksgivings in the churches for the safe return of the godly young prince, the only hope of the nation. In the mean while, the effects of his double dealing were manifesting themselves. A few days after his departure from Madrid, there arrived from him one Mr. Clerk, a creature of Buckingham's, who took up his lodging in the house of the Earl of Bristol, to the great surprise of those who knew it:—"Considering the darkness that happened betwixt the duke and the earl, we fear," writes Howell, "that this Clerk hath brought something that may puzzle the business." The fear was not unfounded. In the course of a few days it was rumoured that the pope's rescript was arrived, and thereupon Clerk desired to speak with my Lord Bristol, for he had something to deliver him from the Prince; and "my Lord Ambassador being come to him, Mr. Clerk delivered a letter from

* Howell. † Meade.

the Prince, the contents whereof were, that whereas he had left certain proxies in his hands to be delivered to the King of Spain after the dispensation was come, he desired and required him not to do it till he should receive further order from England."* The only reason alleged by Charles was, that he feared that the Infanta, immediately after the marriage by proxy, would shut herself up in a nunnery! Bristol, lost in amazement, would not see that this most absurd pretext was merely meant to cover over a fixed determination not to marry the princess at all. As the rumour which hastened Clerk's disclosure was premature, he had time, as he thought, to set matters right. He went straight to court, where Philip gave him every possible assurance that his sister would be sent into England at the time and in the manner already agreed upon, and where the Infanta made herself very merry, saying, that she must confess she never in all her life had any mind to be a nun, and hardly thought she should be one now, only to avoid the Prince of Wales.† He then despatched a courier with life and death speed to King James, telling him of the absolute removal of the only difficulty; and he continued to dress and furnish his household in velvet and silver lace, so that they might do honour to the ceremony of the espousals. But Charles and Buckingham closeted James, and made him write to Bristol, that he might deliver his proxy at Christmas, because "that holy and joyful time was best fitting so notable and blessed an action as the marriage." To this despatch Bristol replied in all speed, that (*as Buckingham and the prince well knew*) the powers in the proxy expired *before* Christmas; and it would be a most grievous insult to present it when it had ceased to be of value; that the pope had already signed the paper, and that he, Bristol, should consider himself bound by treaty, and by the oath he had taken to that treaty, to deliver the proxy whenever it should be asked for by the King of Spain, unless his

* Howell.

† Clarendon State Papers. Hardwicke Papers.

master should send him positive orders to the contrary. Having given what he considered satisfactory assurances to his ambassadors at the English court, Philip, upon the actual arrival of the document from Rome, which came in about a fortnight, fixed the day for the marriage by proxy, invited the grandees and great ladies to the ceremony, and sent orders to all the towns and seaports to discharge their great ordnance. His infant daughter, of whom the queen had been delivered a little while before, was to be christened on the same auspicious day. But, when all Madrid was at the height of its joy and pleasant expectations, when it wanted but three days of *the day*, three English couriers, despatched for greater certainty, arrived one upon the back of the other, with a new commission to my Lord of Bristol, countermanding the delivery of the proxy until full and absolute satisfaction should be given for the immediate surrender of the Palatinate, or war declared by the King of Spain for the obtaining of that surrender to the King of England's son-in-law. Philip indignantly countermanded the preparations for the marriage, broke up the household of his sister, and ordered her to quit the study of the English language, and relinquish the title of Princess of Wales, which, it is said, the Infanta could not do without shedding some tears. When the Spanish sovereign's anger cooled, he entered into explanations with Bristol, for whom he entertained a high esteem. He said that the Palatinate was not his to give, and that it was scarcely to be expected he should enter into a war with his relative, the Emperor, and with half the Catholic powers of Europe, for its recovery: but if a friendly negotiation could secure it, he would guarantee it—nay, if, after a time, negotiations were found unavailing, he would take up arms to restore the Palatine to his hereditary dominions. The Spanish council, moreover, affirmed that his majesty was resolved to employ his utmost endeavours to satisfy the King of England; but to have it extorted from him by way of menace, or that it should now be added to the marriage by way of condition, and that his own sister

must be rejected, unless the king would make a war with the emperor, was too humiliating, and whatsoever his majesty's resolutions might be, he could neither with his honour, nor with the honour of his sister, whom he would in no way force or thrust upon the Prince, make any more concessions at present. But, in a day or two, Philip put his signature to a formal promise written in the form of a letter to King James; and this, it was thought, would satisfy the English court. But Charles had resolved not to marry the Infanta at any price, and he and Buckingham, encouraged by the popular feeling at home, had made up their minds to a war with Spain. Bristol received his recall, and Philip then prepared for a war with England. The ambassador represented to James, that having contracted a debt of 50,000 crowns, and pledged all his lady's jewels at Madrid *for Prince Charles*, he had not a quarter of the money necessary for his journey; and he humbly besought his majesty to consider that his leaving that court ought not to be like a running away in debt, though, rather than disobey his commands, he would go home on foot. It does not appear that James remitted a sixpence. But Philip commiserated the hard case of Bristol, gave him a rich sideboard of plate, and, being fully aware of the fate that Buckingham was preparing for him in England, he made him an offer, that if he would stay in any of his dominions, he would give him money and honour equal to what the highest of his enemies possessed; but Bristol declined the splendid offer, saying, that he feared no mischief in his native country, which he must ever love and prefer to every other. Though Charles and Buckingham were very anxious to get Bristol away from Madrid, they were by no means desirous of his presence in England: he was told to travel by slow stages, and when he arrived, he was ordered to go instantly to his house in the country, and there consider himself a prisoner. But for the opposition of the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Pembroke, the vindictive Buckingham would have had him committed to the Tower. As it was, without any trial,—without a hearing,—he was for-

bidden either to visit the court, or to take his seat as a peer in parliament.*

The king's joy for the return of the "dear boys" was soon overcast by a gloomy reflection upon the consequences of their rash journey. No money from Spain, fresh debts contracted, his jewels nearly all gone, his daughter still an outcast, a war in perspective,—those thoughts harassed him to death, and made him forego his hunting and his hawking, and shut himself up in solitude. In other directions, Buckingham was eliciting the most deplorable exhibitions of human baseness. Cranfield the lord treasurer, Bishop Williams the lord keeper, and others of his creatures, who had joined in censuring his conduct during his absence, because they thought his influence was on the decline, were all brought to crawl like reptiles before him.†

A.D. 1624.—Nothing remained for James but the last and painful resource of assembling a parliament. This time he issued no arbitrary proclamations, laid down no lessons to the electors; and when the houses met (on the 19th of February), he addressed them in a tone of great moderation and sweetness; but he could not conquer his nature or his inveterate habit, and, in the end, this falsetto gave way to his real voice. He told them that he remembered and regretted former misunderstandings; that he earnestly desired to do his duty, and manifest his love to his people. Forgetting previous declarations, he told them that he had been *long* engaged in treaties with Spain; that he had sent his own son with the man he most trusted, the faithfulest and best of counsellors, into Spain; that all that had passed should be disclosed to them. He hoped they would judge him charitably, as they wished to be judged; he declared that, in every treaty, whether public or private, he had always considered above all things the Protestant religion. He had, it was true, sometimes caused the penal statutes to bear less rigorously upon the Catholics than at other times, but to dispense with the statutes, to forbid or alter the

* Hardwicke State Papers.—Clarendon Papers.—Cabala.—Journals of the Lords.

† Cabala.

law in that matter, he had never promised or yielded any such thing.* In the conclusion of his long speech in parliament, he told them to beware of jealousy, to remember that time was precious, and to make no impertinent and irritating inquiries.† Five days after, on the 24th of February, Buckingham, at a general conference held at Whitehall, delivered to the Houses a long rambling but specious narrative, the Prince of Wales standing beside him to assist his memory, and give weight to his assertions. The Lord Keeper Williams, who had rehearsed the matter beforehand with the prince, had warned Buckingham not to produce or refer to *all* the despatches, for fear parliament should fall to examine particular despatches, wherein they could not but find many contradictions, "and because his highness wished to draw on a breach with Spain without ripping up of private despatches." In fact, if the despatches had been produced, they would have proved the king to be an astonishing liar, and they would have disproved nearly every thing that Buckingham uttered. Bold in the absence of Bristol, in the servility and connivance of the lords of the council, in the countenance of the heir to the throne, in the sympathy of the commons and the people, who were ready to credit anything about the breach of the match, which they always abhorred, the double favourite solemnly declared, that, after many years' negotiation, the king had found the Spaniards were as far from coming to an honest decision as ever; that the Earl of Bristol had never brought the treaty beyond mere professions

* On the 20th of July, in the preceding year, James, in swearing to the Spanish treaty, in presence of the two ambassadors, and in their house, had sworn to the following clause—"Quod nulla lex particularis contra Catholicos Romanos lata, necnon leges generales sub quibus omnes ex æquo comprehenduntur, modo ejusmodi sint quæ religioni Romanæ repugnant, ullo unquam tempore, ullo omnino modo aut casu, directe vel indirecte, quoad dictos Catholicos, executioni mandabitur."—*Prynne—Hardwicke Papers.*

† Journals of the Lords. Rushworth gives the king's eloquence more at length than the journals.

and declarations on their part (the truth being, that that ambassador had brought the treaty to a conclusion); that the prince, doubting of their sincerity, had gone to Spain himself; that he had there found such artificial dealing as convinced him that they were false and deceitful; that the king his master had always regarded the restitution of the Palatinate as a preliminary; and that, in fine, the prince, after enduring much ill treatment, was obliged to return home, bereft of all hope of obtaining either the Infanta or the Palatinate. This tissue of misrepresentations was received with enthusiasm by parliament. Old Coke, in the House of Commons, called Buckingham the saviour of the nation, and out of doors the people sang his praises, lit bonfires, and insulted the Spanish ambassadors. These gentlemen protested against the duke's speech as false and injurious to their sovereign's honour; but the two Houses defended the favourite, and presently proceeded to declare that their king could no longer negotiate with honour or safety. The people were eager for war; but James, in growing old, had not grown warlike; he trembled, hung back, talked of the long standing of his character as a righteous and pacific monarch, of his debts, of his poverty; but it was this very poverty that forwarded the views of Buckingham and his son, who represented that money he must have, that there was no such sure way of obtaining a round supply as by declaring war against his Catholic majesty; and, in the end, though with sore fears and misgivings, James resolved to assume the novel attitude of a belligerent.* The idea made the Spaniards laugh. Gondomar had told them that there were no men in England, and, if he meant public men, he was not far wrong; they despised this kingdom as weak, poor, disunited, led by a timid king and an inexperienced prince, whose anger they ridiculed, comparing it to a revolt of the mice against the cats. Such had become, in the hands of James, the thunderbolts of Elizabeth. But, with unusual alacrity, the king told the Commons that, if they would

* In the Hardwicke Papers, there is a curious letter from Buckingham to his "Dear dad and gossip," urging him to war. It is quite in the popular strain.

vote him money, he would apply it to a war with Spain; and, as he was well aware that the Commons had no confidence in him, he graciously told them that the money voted might be paid to a committee of parliament, to be managed and paid out by them.

The Commons took him at his word, and a joint address from both Houses, with an offer to support him in the war with their persons and fortunes, was presented to him by Abbot, the archbishop of Canterbury—a strange choice, both because it was unseemly that a churchman should deliver a message leading to war and blood, and because the archbishop had sworn with the lords of the council to the Spanish treaty. But Abbot had taken that oath most unwillingly, and it was probably with an expression of joy or even of triumph that he congratulated the king on his having become sensible of the insincerity of the Spaniards, for James interrupted him by saying, "Hold! you insinuate what I have never spoken. Buckingham hath made you a relation on which you are to judge; but I never yet declared my mind upon it."*

Five days after this message, the question of supplies came on in the Commons. The king asked for 700,000*l.* to begin the war, and for 150,000*l.* per annum to pay his debts. These demands made the Commons falter in their warlike note: but Buckingham and the prince hinted that a smaller sum would be accepted; and, without noticing the king's debts, they voted three subsidies and three fifteenths, making about 300,000*l.*, which was all to be raised within a year, to be applied to the war, and to be put into the hands of treasurers appointed by themselves, who were to issue money on the warrant of the council of war, and on no other orders. The king then declared by proclamation, that the treaties with Spain were at an end. In their bigotry the Lower House forgot their old jealousy of proclamations, and resolved to petition the king for another proclamation against the Catholics; but the Lords objected to this course, and, in the end, a joint petition from both Houses, with some of the sting taken out of it, was presented,

* Journals of the Lords.

praying the king to enforce the penal statutes. James again called God to witness that it was his intention so to do, his determination never to permit of any indulgence or toleration; and Prince Charles also swore that, if it should please God to bestow upon him any lady that was popish, that she should have no further liberty but for her own family, and no advantage to the recusants at home.* All missionaries were ordered by proclamation to leave England under the penalty of death; the judges and magistrates were instructed to act vigorously, and the Lord Mayor of London was especially admonished to arrest all such persons as went to hear mass in the houses of the foreign ambassadors. The Commons drew up a list of Catholics holding places under government, and unanimously petitioned for their removal; but these placemen were saved for the present by the interference of the Lords. Patents, and monopolies, and the bitter recollection of the manner in which parliament had been dissolved, still rankled in the hearts of the Commons, and in their committee of grievances they pronounced some of the patents illegal, and reserved others for future examination. The king, much nettled, told them that he too had his grievances to complain of: that they, the Commons, had encroached on his prerogative and condemned patents that were very useful, and had suffered themselves to be led by the lawyers, who were the greatest grievances of all. But the Commons were bent upon striking a blow in higher quarters; they had taken their measures for impeaching Cranfield, now earl of Middlesex, the lord treasurer of England, and master of the court of wards, for deficiency, bribery, and oppression. This lord treasurer was one of the creatures of Buckingham, who had intrigued against him during his absence in Spain, and on his return he was less successful than Bishop Williams, the lord keeper, in making his peace with the incensed favourite by vile prostrations and abjurations. Buckingham, moreover, in starting as a fiery Protestant and patriot, had cultivated a good understanding with some of the leaders of the opposition or country

* Journals.

party. Now these men wanted a victim—not that the treasurer was not guilty—and Buckingham gladly gave him up. The king would fain have protected his servant, and he lost his temper both with Buckingham and Charles for favouring the impeachment; he told the duke that he was a fool, and was making a rod for his own breech, and the prince that he would live to have his bellyful of impeachments.* Nor did he stop here; he wrote to tell the Commons that the lord treasurer had not, as they supposed, advised the dissolution of the last parliament, but, on the contrary, had begged on his knees for its continuance; he covered or palliated the treasurer's offences, to the Lords: but all this was of no avail, and Middlesex, being only allowed three days to prepare his defence, was convicted by the unanimous vote of the peers, condemned to pay a fine of about 5000*l.*, to be imprisoned during pleasure, and to be for ever excluded from his seat in parliament, and from the verge of the court.† The country party had also intended to impeach the lord keeper, Williams, but the supple prelate was protected by Buckingham, to whom, during the session, he rendered a most important piece of secret service.

While James trembled, and talked of the blessedness of peace, his son and the duke, in his name and with the concurrence of parliament, attended to the raising of troops and the concluding of alliances against the house of Austria, for the humbling of Spain, and for the recovery of the Palatinate. "This spring gave birth to four brave regiments of foot (a new apparition in the English horizon), 1500 in a regiment, which were raised and transported into Holland, under four gallant colonels, the Earls of Oxford, Southampton, and Essex, and the Lord Willoughby."‡ The Dutch were already at war with the Spaniards, who had invaded their territory under the command of the great Italian General Spinola.

A fearful tragedy, enacted on a small island in the Eastern Ocean, should have seemed likely to make this Dutch alliance unpopular with the English people. Ever

* Clarendon. † Journals—Rushworth.

‡ Arthur Wilson.

since the conclusion of the long truce at the Hague, the Dutch had been colonizing and trading on a most extensive scale in the seas of India and China. Among other islands they possessed Amboyna, one of the Molucca, or Spice, Islands, which they had taken from the Portuguese. They pretended not only an absolute sovereignty over this island—part of which continued to be occupied for some years by independent natives—but also an exclusive right to the spice trade in all that Archipelago. Their friends and allies, the English, soon became desirous of sharing in this profitable trade; they sent some ships to obtain cloves from the natives, and in 1612 the East India Company formed a little settlement at Cambello, in Amboyna, from which they were forced to retire two years after. In 1619 a treaty was concluded in London, by which the English thought themselves entitled to share in the trade; but the Dutch settlers and the local government were jealous in the extreme, and they had recently seized Captain Gabriel Towerson and nine Englishmen, with nine poor Japanese, and one Portuguese, had charged them with a conspiracy to surprise the garrison and expel the Dutch from Amboyna, had tortured them till they confessed what was an impossibility or a flitting dream of madness,* and had then cut off their heads or strangled them.

The news of this atrocious proceeding reached England just at the moment that Buckingham was preparing to assist the Dutch in their own country. The English court made formal remonstrances; the States apologised and promised redress; and the 'massacre of Amboyna,' as

* "There were not twenty Englishmen, nor above thirty Japanese in the whole island, with whom they were said to machinate this conspiracy, and the castle had in it two hundred Dutch soldiers, and eight ships riding before it well manned, whereof two were above 1200 tons apiece; besides, the Dutch had two other castles in the same island; and what probability could there be (if the plot were as plain as their malicious tongues could make it) that so weak a force should attempt upon so many, having men enough in the ships and castles to have devoured the attempters?"—*Wilson.*

it was called by the people, was lost sight of for a time. Though it was the high notion of Buckingham to make this a war of religion, it was found necessary to include in the league the Catholic states of France, Savoy, and Venice, who were led on by their jealousy of the House of Austria. After the Dutch, the Protestant powers that contracted were Denmark, Sweden, and some of the German states, who all required subsidies in English money. The first object to be achieved was the expulsion of the Spaniards from the Netherlands, and of the Spaniards, Austrians, and Bavarians from the Palatinate. The result of the campaign, as far as the English were engaged, may be told in a few words of shame and disgrace. The six thousand men already in Holland acted as auxiliaries to the Dutch army commanded by Prince Maurice of Orange, who soon felt himself overmatched by Spinola. The Italian took Breda before the prince's eyes. Maurice moved upon the castle of Antwerp, which, he was informed, had been left with a weak garrison; and he was so confident of taking it, that he would have none but the Dutch with him. Here also he failed. "And so, with some few little bickerings of small parties of horse, betwixt two entrenched armies, the whole summer was shuffled away;" and, winter approaching, Prince Maurice retired to winter-quarters. The prince died at the Hague: the Earl of Southampton and other English officers returned home to England. During the summer, Count Mansfeldt, one of the former heroes of the Palatinate war, was employed in raising mercenaries on the continent, and in the autumn he embarked from Zealand to procure English money and English troops which had been promised him. The ship which bore him was wrecked; the English captain and crew were drowned: but Mansfeldt, with some of his followers, escaped in the long boat and got safe to England. There was at least one person here who wished the waves had swallowed him—and this was King James, who for some time would not admit the adventurer to an audience. But, in the end, Mansfeldt obtained the promise of 20,000*l.* per month, and of the command of twelve thou-

sand Englishmen, who were to be levied by press. These pressed men when raised were fitter to march through Coventry than to retrieve the somewhat tarnished honour of the British arms. No time was allowed to train and discipline them; they were marched to Dover (where several of them were hanged), and then hurried on board ship. The court had negotiated for their passage through a part of France, but when they appeared off Calais they were refused a landing. Mansfeldt thence led them to the island of Zealand, where the Dutch were scarcely more willing to receive them than the French had been. When, at last, Mansfeldt reached the Rhine and the border of the Palatinate, he found that more than one-half of his army was gone, and that it would be impossible for him to undertake any offensive operations.

While these events were in progress, nay, even before the warlike note was sounded, and before the Spanish match was actually broken off, a new matrimonial treaty was set on foot with France for the hand of Louis's sister, Henrietta Maria. Some time before Lord Herbert of Cherbury, the resident ambassador, was assured by the favourite De Luynes, that if there were any overture made for such a match, it should be received with all honour and affection. An overture *was* made; and it was thought fit, for the concluding of the match, that the Earl of Carlisle and Lord Kensington—created on the occasion Earl of Holland—should be sent as ambassadors extraordinary to France.* It was in this embassy that Hay displayed all his pomp and extravagance; but though a sensualist and a solemn fop, the Scottish Earl of Carlisle was destitute neither of abilities nor spirit. But he had to measure himself against one of the most wonderful of men—the incomparably crafty and resolute Cardinal Richelieu, who had now established a sort of dictatorship over both the court and the nation, and who was at once a ruthless tyrant and a benefactor to France. Richelieu, who was most eager to defeat Charles's Spanish match, was all obsequiousness till it was absolutely broken off,

* Life of Lord Herbert.

and then he "stood upon his tip-toes," resolving not to abate a jot of the articles of religion, and of liberty to the Catholics of England, which had been agreed upon with Spain. This was excessively inconvenient to King James and Prince Charles, who only six months before had both *solemnly vowed* that they would never tolerate the Papists. In fact, when the proposal was made, they were permitting a fresh persecution of the recusants. James, however, signed a private paper, promising favour to the Catholics, without which the pope would not grant the dispensation.* Carlisle presented this document, and endeavoured to convince Richelieu and his colleagues that it was security enough. "But," say they, "we did sing a song to the deaf, for they would not endure to hear of it." "In the next place," continue these diplomatists, "we offered the same to be signed by his highness (Prince Charles) and a secretary of state, wherein we pretended to come home to their own asking; but this would not serve the turn neither." Carlisle made a good stand, and would have bartered a toleration in England for French troops to be sent into the Palatinate. He repeated words which they had used at the first opening of the negotiation—"Give us priests," said the cardinal, "and we will give you colonels." "Give us pomp and ceremony to content the pope," said another, "and we will throw ourselves wholly in your interests." "Yes," said the chancellor, "we will espouse all your interests as if they were our own." They confessed to these expressions, but pretended that they had already done enough in joining the league. Carlisle made several good struggles, but he was badly supported. Secretary Conway, whose instructions and despatches seem to have been dictated entirely by Charles and Buckingham, became very obscure or ambiguous."† After some negotiation, Richelieu consented to the *écrit secret*, as it was styled in French diplomacy, and Carlisle dropped the

* Lord Nithsdale, a Catholic, was sent to Rome to make promises and compliments to the pope, in the name of King James and his son.

† Hardwicke State Papers.

question of the French army for the Palatinate. The secret promise imported that James would permit all his Roman Catholic subjects to enjoy greater franchise and freedom of religion than they would have enjoyed in virtue of any articles of the Spanish treaty of marriage. This paper was duly signed in November, by James, by Charles, and by a secretary of state; and a copy of the engagement was signed by Carlisle and Holland. The marriage treaty was signed and ratified by the solemn oaths of King James and King Louis. But even after this the French ministers raised a fresh objection. They represented that the secret promise was conceived in general or vague terms, and they demanded that James should specify the favours he intended. Carlisle was indignant, and recommended a resistance to this demand. James and his son feared to try the temper of Richelieu and the queen-mother, and they submitted to the specification of the three following articles:—1. That all Catholics in prison for their religion since the rising of parliament should be set free. 2. That all fines levied on them since that period should be repaid. 3. That, for the future, they might freely exercise their own worship in private.—There was another incident of a very different kind, which occurred during the latter part of these negotiations, to the great alarm of James. The Huguenots, or "those of the religion," as they were called in France, had received harsh treatment from Louis: Soubise, who was now at their head, and who at one time had maintained very friendly relations with some members of the English government, seized upon the island of Rhé, near Rochelle, fortified it, fitted out some ships, and proclaimed that he would not lay down his arms till he obtained a better security for the observation of the public faith and the edicts granting toleration to French Protestants. Carlisle declared this proceeding to be unadvised, unseasonable, shameful; the French court agreed to believe that the English Protestants had nothing to do with the movement; and the lively Henrietta Maria prepared for her removal to England. Her portion was fixed at eight hundred thousand crowns; a

small sum compared with the dower which had been promised with the Infanta.

But James did not live to see the arrival either of the money or of the long-sought daughter-in-law. His health had long been breaking under the united influences of anxiety, fear, full-feeding, and continual use of sweet wines; and he returned to Theobald's from his last hunting party with a disease which the doctors called a tertian ague. But it should appear that he had also the worst kind of gout upon him. He had always entertained a great aversion to medicine and physicians, but at this extremity all the court doctors were called in. While they were in attendance, Buckingham's mother presented herself with an infallible remedy, in the shape of a plaster and a posset, which she had procured from one Remington, a quack, living in Essex, where, it was said, he had cured many agues. It should appear that the plaster was applied and the drink given contrary to the advice of the physicians. They may have produced irritation and done mischief; but we cannot believe that they were the cause of the death of James, or even intended to hasten his end. On the fourteenth day of his illness, being Sunday, the 27th of March,* he sent before day-break for the prince, who rose out of his bed and went to him in his night-gown. The king seemed to have some earnest thing to say to him, and so endeavoured to raise himself upon his pillow; but his spirits were so spent that he had not strength to make his words audible. He lingered for a few hours, and then "went to his last rest, upon the day of rest, presently after sermon was done."† James was in his fifty-ninth year, and he had been twenty-two years king of England. As soon as the breath was out of his body the privy council, or all the members of it that were at Theobald's, assembled, and in less than a quarter of an hour King Charles was proclaimed at Theobald's court-gate by Sir Edward Zouch, knight-marshal.

* That is, the 8th of April, N. S. † Howell.

Charles I.

A.D. 1625.—On the afternoon of Monday, the 28th of March, Charles took coach at Theobald's with the Duke of Buckingham, and came to Whitehall. On the same day he was proclaimed at Whitehall-gate and in Cheapside, in the midst of a sad shower of rain; and the weather was thought suitable to the condition in which he found the kingdom. A few days after, the plague broke out in Whitechapel, whence it extended its ravages to every part of London. It was said to be even a worse plague than that which raged at the time of his father's coronation. Charles re-appointed the council and the officers of government, making scarcely any change. Buckingham stood forward more powerful and vain-glorious than ever. There was, however, some change for the better at court; the fools, and buffoons, and other familiars of James were dismissed, the courtiers were required to be attentive to religion, and modest and quiet in their demeanour, and they generally became, if not more moral, far more decorous. In a few days after the accession, it was reported of the new sovereign that he was zealous for God's truth, a diligent frequenter of the church, and an attentive listener to prayers and sermons; that he intended to pay all his father's, mother's, and brother's debts, and that, by disparking most of his remote parks and chases; to reform the court of unnecessary charges, and to drive from it all recusant Papists. On the 30th of March, three days after his father's death, Charles ratified, as king, the treaty with France; and on the 1st of May the marriage ceremony was performed at Paris—the Duke of Chevreuse, a member of the House of Guise, acting as Charles's proxy. Buckingham was appointed to bring the bride to England, and he proceeded with an immense retinue to Paris, where he dazzled all eyes with his splendour. This man's gallantry was not checked by the national shyness of Englishmen; for he

had scarcely set foot in the French court, when he declared love to the young Queen, Anne of Austria. The Cardinal Richelieu made all the haste he decently could to get him back to England, and, after eight days, Buckingham left Paris, with Henrietta Maria. They travelled very slowly, or stopped very frequently; for though they began their journey on the 23rd of May, they did not reach Dover till the 12th of June in the evening. That night the young queen slept in Dover Castle. On the morrow morning Charles, who had slept at Canterbury, rode to Dover to receive his wife. They met in the castle: the bride knelt down at his feet, and would have kissed his hand, but the king took her up in his arms and kissed her with many kisses. The royal couple proceeded together to Canterbury, on the following day to Rochester, the day after to Gravesend, and, on the 16th, there being a very great shower, the king and queen, in the royal barge, passed through London-bridge to Whitehall. Notwithstanding the rain and the plague, the Londoners crowded the river and its banks to get a sight of the bride, whose appearance and cheerful manners gave them much satisfaction. Stories were soon circulated of her wit, and freedom from bigotry. It was said (and the thing was considered very important) that she had eaten pheasant and venison on a fast-day, notwithstanding the remonstrance of her confessor, and that, upon being asked if she could abide a Huguenot, she replied, "Why not?—was not my father one?" In short, before she had been four-and-twenty hours at Whitehall, it was joyfully announced that she had already given some good signs of hope that she might ere long become a very good Protestant. But in a few days these bright hopes seemed to fade; and people began to count the great number of priests she had brought over in her train, and to murmur at the idolatry of the mass being again set up in the palaces of their king. She had twenty-nine priests, fourteen of them Theatines,* and fifteen seculars,

* An order founded at Rome in 1524, by John Peter Caraffa, afterwards Pope Paul IV., then archbishop of Chieti, or Theate, in the province of Abruzzi, in the kingdom of Naples.

besides a bishop, a young man under thirty years of age. On Sundays and saints' days mass was celebrated in the queen's closet at Whitehall, Charles giving strict orders that no English man or woman should come near the place during the celebration. The priests were very importunate to have a large chapel finished at St. James's, but the king was very slow in gratifying them in this particular. If the French princess had been the most excellent and amiable of women, these circumstances would have rendered her odious in the eyes of the nation; but Henrietta Maria, though lively and pleasant, when pleased, was *not* the most amiable of women: she was self-willed, obstinate, haughty, and overbearing, and began to show her temper, even in public, before she had been a fortnight in England.* Meanwhile the plague grew worse and worse. In the eyes of the Puritans the inference was obvious: the land was scourged for relapsing into idolatry.

Charles had issued writs for a parliament to meet on the 17th of May; but in consequence of two prorogations, it did not assemble till the 10th of June, the very day after his arrival at Whitehall with his queen. Though not yet crowned, he wore the crown on his head. The young king (he was in his twenty-fifth year) was no orator, and he had the defect of stammering; but the words of his first address were plain and sensible. Instead of trying the patience of the Houses with long, rambling, pedantic speeches, he went at once to the point. He wanted money, and he told them so. In fact, the debts which his father had left amounted to 700,000*l.*; he had already contracted considerable debts

* Meade, in one of his epistles, gives the following passage from a letter written by his court-frequenting friend, Mr. Mordant:—

"The queen, howsoever, very little of stature, is yet of a pleasing countenance (*if she be pleased*), but full of spirit and vigour; and seems of more than ordinary resolution. With one frown, divers of us being at Whitehall to see her (being at dinner, and the room somewhat over-heated with the fire and company), she drove us all out of the chamber. I suppose none but a queen could have cast such a scowl."

of his own; and the money voted for the war was long since swallowed up. He did not hint at a peace;* he said, on the contrary, that the war must be pushed with vigour, and he reminded them that they themselves had voted a recourse to arms, and, therefore, the war being their own work, the dishonour would lie upon them, if it were not followed up with spirit from a want of the necessary supplies. But though still inclined to hostilities with Spain and the Catholics, the Commons knew by this time that the war had been most miserably conducted. They now hated and suspected Buckingham, whose popularity bloomed and died almost as fast as a flower; and they required from the new king, who had already declared against concession, some pledges of an extensive reform. In this temper they limited their votes to two subsidies (about 140,000*l.*), and the duties of tonnage and poundage, not *for life*, as had been practised for two centuries, but for one year. They were also distressed by the anomalous position of the king,—the head of the Protestant league, the chief of a war of religion, or what they at least meant should be such,—and yet suffering mass to be celebrated in his own house, and his court to swarm with Papists and priests. They presented a "pious petition" to his majesty, conjuring him to put into immediate execution all the penal statutes against Catholics and missionaries. Charles had promised, had signed, and sealed, and solemnly sworn, in his matrimonial treaty with France, to do no such thing; but he durst not avow this engagement, and he returned a gracious answer to the petition of the Commons. In another matter, however, he was less timid and complying. One of his chaplains, Dr. Montague, the editor of his father's works, was a decided champion of those tenets for and by which Laud afterwards set the kingdom in a blaze. He taught and wrote that there was a mon-

* Although troops had been sent to Holland and the Rhine, no war had been declared against any one either at Charles's accession or at the dissolution of the late parliament. If Charles had not been more eager for war than for peace, he might easily have negotiated.

strous difference between the doctrines of Calvin and the Puritans and those entertained by the Anglican church, and that in many points the established church agreed more closely with that of Rome than with that of Geneva. Two Puritan ministers drew up an information against the doctor's heresy, to be laid before parliament. Montague thereupon published a tract which was called 'An Appeal to Cæsar,' and dedicated to King Charles. Many who read the tract pronounced the author to be a Papist in disguise, and one that, under the encouragement of the court, was attempting gradually to re-introduce the old religion. The Commons drew up articles against the doctor, declaring him to have "maintained and confirmed some doctrine contrary to the articles agreed by the archbishops and bishops, and the whole clergy, in the year 1562; and by his so doing, to have broke the laws and statutes of this realm." They took him into custody, and commanded him to appear at the bar of their House. The king represented that it was for him, and not for them, to take cognizance of the conduct of his chaplains; but the Commons replied that they were competent to visit such offences in a chaplain or in any other servant of the court; and they would not let the doctor go till he had given bail in 2000*l.* for his reappearance.* Charles had expressed indignation at the vote of supplies, and the Lords threw out the tonnage and poundage part of the bill, because the grant of these duties was not for life. Lord Conway, the chief secretary, was pressing the Commons for more money, when the plague became so alarming that many members absented themselves, and the king adjourned the parliament to the 1st of August, appointing it to meet, not at Westminster, but at Oxford.†

Previously to the calling a parliament, Charles, of his own authority, had issued warrants for levying troops for the Palatinate; and, having no money, had exacted that the

* Montague was rewarded for his sufferings by an increase of the royal favour; and the man that the Commons had denounced soon received a bishopric!

† Rushworth.—Parl. Hist.

charges of "coat and conduct" should be borne by the people, who were, in return, to receive a promise of repayment from his exchequer. This gave rise to great discontents, but the king continued the practice during the recess; and other circumstances meanwhile occurred still further to bring his government into disrepute. Soubise and the Huguenots still kept possession of Rochelle and the island of Rhé, and the fleet was so powerful at sea that the French Catholics could not meet it. In virtue of the recent alliance, Cardinal Richelieu applied to the English for assistance against the French Protestants. Charles and Buckingham complied; but, to deceive the people, it was given out that the armament was intended, not against Rochelle, but against the city of Genoa, which was in alliance with the House of Austria Ever since Buckingham had been Lord Admiral, the navy had been wofully neglected, in consequence of which the seas were infested by pirates, and the trade of the country frequently molested. The only man-of-war in a state fit to put to sea was the Vanguard; but the French ministry was urgent, and so seven merchant-vessels of the largest size were pressed into the king's service. Buckingham provided the little fleet with stores and ammunition as he best could. The fleet stood across the Channel; but, when off Dieppe, they learned from the Duke of Montmorency, the lord admiral of France, that they were expected to take on board French sailors and soldiers, and then to proceed to fight against the Protestants of Rochelle. Captains and men instantly refused, drew up a protest or petition, and forced Pennington, the commander of the little fleet, to sail back to the Downs. Pennington himself then begged to be excused going on such a service; and presently the Duke of Rohan, Soubise, and the other Huguenot chiefs, who had got a hint of what was intended, despatched an envoy to London, to implore the king not to employ his forces against his Protestant brethren. The envoy had good words and hopes from Charles, but Buckingham told him that the king, his master, had pledged his word, and that the ships must and should go. The captains and owners of the merchant

vessels, however, represented that they had been hired and impressed for the king of England's service, and they could not be passed into the hands of the French without higher orders and a new agreement. Hereupon Buckingham posted down to Rochester with the French ambassador, who undertook to charter the merchants' ships for King Louis. But, in spite of the high and absolute tone of the favourite, merchants, captains, and men were alike averse to the service. In the beginning of July, Secretary Conway wrote a letter in King Charles's name to Vice-Admiral Pennington, telling him that his master had left the command of the ships to the French king, and that he, Pennington, should take on board at Dieppe as many men as the French pleased, and that this letter was to be his warrant. A trick was put upon the sailors—they were told again that they were to go to Genoa—and they once more sailed to Dieppe, Pennington having another letter, written by Charles himself, which charged and commanded him, without delay, to put his majesty's ship the Vanguard into the hands of the French, and to require the commanders of the seven merchant ships, in his majesty's name, to do the same, nay, in case of backwardness, to use forcible means, even to sinking, to compel them. As soon as he reached Dieppe, Pennington delivered up the Vanguard, and acquainted the rest of the captains with the king's commands. Again, they all refused to obey. When they prepared to heave anchor, Pennington fired into them from the man-of-war, and compelled them to stay, all but the brave Sir Ferdinand Gorge, in the Neptune—"more brave in running away from this abominable action than charging in the midst of an enemy." The Frenchmen were embarked, and Pennington led them to Rochelle; but to make the Englishmen fight under such circumstances was beyond his power. They deserted, and joined the Huguenots, or returned home. The siege of Rochelle was abandoned, and Charles drew upon himself an almost crushing weight of odium without being of any use to Louis.*

* Rymer.—Cabala.—Rushworth.—Clarendon Papers.—Les Larmes de l'Angleterre.

On the 1st of August the parliament met in the good city of Oxford. Charles summoned both Houses to attend him in the hall of Christ Church, and there asked for more money to carry on the war.* A day or two after, it was seen that, notwithstanding this demand, and the earnest representations of ministers, the Commons would not vote any more subsidies, or change their previous decision about tonnage and poundage. They, in fact, applied themselves to the redress of grievances, foremost among which they placed the non-enforcement of the penal statutes against Papists. Old Coke, more bold and impressive from his great age, denounced new invented offices and useless officers, which cost much money, and ought to be abolished; the multiplicity of great offices in one man—meaning, of course, Buckingham; the prodigality of the court and household; and the paying of certain pensions; which ought to be stopped until the king was out of debt. Other members denounced with as much vehemence, if not eloquence, the now common practice of selling the offices of government. By this time the Earl of Bristol had explained to many his own conduct and the conduct of Buckingham at Madrid; and an inquiry was proposed into the maladministration of the favourite as lord admiral, and his having brought the country into a war merely from personal spite against the Spanish favourite Olivares. The tone of the House was bold and resolute. The learned Sir Robert Cotton, after applauding the "constant wisdom" of the House, as shown in their censure of that ill-advised minister for trenching upon their ancient liberties, told them that, notwithstanding those walls could not conceal from the ears of captious, guilty, and revengeful men without, the council and debates within, he would express his honest thoughts, and show the crimes which parliament had impeached other minions for in elder times. Buckingham, at the desire of the

* The Commons said, with some reason, that they hardly knew whom they were at war with. There had been no declaration!

king, presented an account of the navy, and a denial of having acted through personal feelings in the quarrel with Spain. His tone was mild and gentle—almost pathetic in speaking of his loss of the Commons' favour —but when he alluded to the Earl of Bristol, he could not conceal his deadly hatred. When they had sat nine days, the Commons were told from the king that his business required a speedy despatch; that the plague might touch them, and that he desired a present answer about his supplies; that if they would not give such answer without loss of time, he would take more care of their health than they themselves seemed disposed to take, and shift for himself as he could. They were debating upon the subject of a supply, but were not inclined to be very liberal without some tender of redress, when this threat of dissolution reached their ears. A most animated debate ensued, and they appointed a committee to prepare their answer. This proved to be a spirited but respectful declaration, putting forward abuses, but not refusing fresh supplies. They told his majesty that they were abundantly comforted by his majesty's late gracious answer touching their religion, and his message for the care of their health, and they solemnly vowed and protested before God and the world, with one heart and voice, that they would ever continue most loyal and obedient servants. But, they added, "We will, in a convenient time, and in a parliamentary way, freely and dutifully do our utmost endeavours to discover and reform the abuses and grievances of this realm and state, and in like sort to afford all necessary supply to his most excellent majesty upon his present occasions and designs: most humbly beseeching our said dear and dread sovereign, in his princely wisdom and goodness, to rest assured of the true and hearty affections of his poor Commons; and to esteem the same to be (as we conceive it is indeed) the greatest worldly reputation and security that a just king can have; and to account all such as slanderers of the people's affections, and enemies to the commonwealth, that shall dare say the contrary." This declaration was passed as the sense of the House, but

they had not had time to present it when they were suddenly summoned to the Lords to hear the king's commission for dissolving the parliament. Thus inauspiciously ended, on the 12th of August, the first parliament under Charles.

During this Oxford session of twelve days he of course obtained not a farthing; but he fancied that he could take money from the pockets of his subjects in right of his prerogative without consent of parliament; and the hare-brained Buckingham, who had been the instigator of the hasty dissolution, cheered him with prospects of great wealth to be obtained by the plunder of Spain. Writs under the privy seal were issued to the nobility, gentry, and clergy, calling upon them to lend money to his majesty; and wherever any reluctance was encountered, threats of vengeance were employed; the duties of tonnage and poundage were levied though the bill had not passed; the salaries of the servants of government were left in arrears; the amusements and even the daily table* at court were trenched upon in order to save money for the fitting out of an expedition, which, according to the calculation of the favourite, would pay cent. per cent. By these means an army of ten thousand men was collected on the wsetern coast, ships of war were fitted out, and merchant vessels engaged as transports, and armed. Not a word was said about the destination of these forces;—Buckingham's blow was to fall by surprise.† The States of Holland contributed a squadron of sixteen sail; the English fleet counted eighty sail. The command of both fleet and army was given to Sir Edward Cecil, now created Lord Wimbledon, a general who had served with very bad success in the Palatinate and the Low Countries. This appointment of a mere landsman surprised and vexed the seamen, who looked upon Wimbledon with contempt. It belonged

* Charles found himself obliged to borrow 3000*l.*, to procure provisions for his table, from the corporations of Salisbury and Southampton.

† Howell, however, says that the secret was badly kept, as all state secrets were in those days.

properly to Sir Robert Mansel, Vice Admiral of England, and an experienced sailor, in case the high admiral himself went not; but Buckingham for selfish motives made the odd choice, and then persisted in it. The fleet set sail in the month of October. In the Bay of Biscay the ships were damaged and in part scattered by a storm. One vessel (the Long Robin) foundered with one hundred and seventy men on board. This was but the beginning of misfortune. The confusion of orders was such, that the officers and soldiers scarcely knew whom to command, or whom to obey. When he got in sight of the Spanish shores, Wimbledon called a council of war, the usual and dangerous resource of incompetent commanders. His instructions, like those given to the great Drake in former times, were, to intercept the Plate ships from America, to scour the Spanish coast, and destroy the shipping in the ports. But where should he begin? In the council of war some recommended one point, some another: in the end, it was determined to make for Cadiz Bay. But while they were consulting, the Spaniards got notice of their approach, and prepared to receive them. Moreover, Wimbledon allowed seven large and rich Spanish ships to escape him, and sail into the bay, where they afterward (when he had effected his landing) did him great mischief with their ordnance. A sudden attack on the shipping at Cadiz and Port Santa Maria could hardly have failed even now, but the land admiral preferred taking ships by land—perhaps he meant to take and plunder Cadiz, as Essex had done—and disembarking his troops, he took the paltry fort of Puntal. Then he moved towards the bridge which connects the Isla de Leon with the continent, to cut off the communication. No enemy was seen on this short march; but in the wine-cellars of the country, which were broken open and plundered, a foe was found which has ever been more dangerous to undisciplined English troops than bullets and pikes. The men got drunk, and became unmanageable. Lord Wimbledon, as the best thing he could do, led them back to the ships, leaving some hundreds of stragglers to fall under the knives of

the enraged peasantry. There still remained the hope of intercepting the Plate fleet, but an infectious disease broke out in my Lord Delaware's ship, and in consequence of an insane order given by Wimbledon, that the sick should be distributed into the healthy ships, the malady was spread exceedingly. After beating about for eighteen days with a dreadful mortality on board, and without a glimpse of the fleet from the New World, Wimbledon resolved to carry his dirtied, dishonoured flag home again, "which was done in a confused manner, and without any observance of sea orders." With the troops and crews dreadfully reduced, with sickness in every ship, and without a single prize of the least value, Wimbledon arrived at Plymouth, to be hissed and hooted by the indignant people. This sorry and unsuccessful return of an expedition which had cost him so much was a grievous blow to Charles.

As Buckingham's plan for enriching his master with the produce of the Spaniards' mines of Mexico and Peru had thus failed, the favourite undertook to go over to the Dutch, and raise money by pawning the crown jewels and plate; and to the Hague he went, taking with him those articles and the Earl of Holland, who is said to have governed him as much as he governed the king. He raised some 300,000*l.* among the money-lenders; drew closer the treaty of alliance with the States; and negotiated with other Protestant powers, which sent their agents to treat with him. From the Hague he would have proceeded to Paris, but his amorous impudence had given much disgust there, and Richelieu informed him that his return to that capital could not be suffered. This message, added to some preceding circumstance almost entirely personal to Buckingham, had the effect of giving an entirely new direction to the policy of England. In his wrath, Buckingham would at once have undone what he had done only a few months before. His friend Holland and Sir Dudley Carleton, who went to Paris in his stead, were instructed to demand the immediate restitution of the English ships

which had been lent to Louis, and to tell that king that he ought to make peace with his Protestant subjects, with whom they, the ambassadors, were to open a secret correspondence, giving them assurance that the king of England would assist them, and asking them what force they could raise in case of Charles's declaring war against Louis. For the present, Richelieu was enabled to conjure the storm, but he was obliged to submit to several indignities and breaches of treaty on the part of the English court.

Apart from any consideration of religion, Charles had conceived a violent dislike of the Frenchmen and priests that had come over with his young wife; and, if the truth is told of them, they must have been a most intriguing and troublesome crew. Henrietta Maria, naturally enough, took the part of her countrymen and ghostly comforters, and this led to frequent quarrels with her husband. Charles reported all his conjugal troubles to Buckingham, and Buckingham did all he could to provoke fresh ones. The favourite was not only jealous of the influence of the young queen, but also disgusted with her whole nation; and he was still further incensed against her by some accidental, or probably intentional slights, which she put upon his intriguing and insolent mother. One day the unmanly minion entered her apartment in a great passion, and, after some rude expostulation, told her she should repent it. Her majesty answering with some quickness, he told her insolently that there had been queens in England who had lost their heads. On the 20th of November Charles wrote from Hampton Court to inform Steenie that he had fully made up his mind to cashier all the Monsers (Messieurs), and send them back to France. On the same day, however, when his passion cooled, he wrote another letter to the favourite, telling him that the thing must be done with management and delicacy. "You must, therefore," says Charles, "advertise my mother-in-law that I must remove all those instruments that are the causes of unkindness between her daughter and me,

few or none of the servants being free of this fault in one kind or other."* The favourite was then on the continent, and had not as yet received the interdict of the cardinal. He was thinking of a gay visit to Paris, and therefore, as it appears, he begged his master to be patient under his domestic grievances. Some time after Charles writes to him that his "wife begins to mend her manners." "I know not," adds his majesty, "how long it will continue, for they say it is by advice."† When Buckingham returned, full of rage, from the continent, violent quarrels began anew on this score. It was thought that the queen's servants would refuse to take the oath of allegiance, and it was tendered to them as a means of getting rid of them, but they all took it except the priests.

Notwithstanding his open declaration to the council that he abhorred the name of parliament, Charles saw that he must inevitably meet that body again, and that soon. Whatever sums had been borrowed abroad by Buckingham, or extorted at home under the privy seal, were absorbed by arrears, and all things were at a stand-still for want of money. In his own complaints against the French attendants we do not find any great stress laid upon their religion, but he knew very well that their faith and open practice of it were their real crimes in the eyes of his people. Leaving, however, the French for the present, he sought to gratify the intolerance of the Commons and the people by persecuting and annoying the English-born Catholics, in doing which he broke the treaty of matrimony, to which he had so solemnly sworn. No doubt he was the more ready to revive the old statutes against recusants, because they offered a source of revenue in the shape of fines and forfeits. He issued orders to his Protestant magistrates to hunt up the game, and he appointed a commission to levy fines on the Catholics: he commanded, by proclamations, the immediate return of all English children and youths that were studying in Catholic seminaries on the continent,

* Hardwicke State Papers. † Id.

and the instant departure out of England of all priests and missionaries. He also resolved, by the advice of his council, to disarm all the popish lords. In the execution of this order, which implied an odious searching of men's houses, great care was taken to give no offence to the family and connexions of the favourite, who, mother and all, were known or suspected Catholics.* But upon other noble families who had no such relationship with the favourite, the blow fell with unmitigated severity. The magistrates, their spies, and the fanatics, searched castles and manor-houses as if there had been a new gunpowder-plot; and many an irritating scene occurred, not without a mixture of the ridiculous and farcical.

The French court remonstrated upon this fresh persecution, and reminded Charles of his treaty and his oath; but this only piqued him without effecting any change in favour of the recusants.

Having thus done something for popularity, the king devised how he might clear the House of Commons of some of its most obnoxious members, and he hit upon an artifice which was singularly transparent and bungling. Persons acting as sheriffs could not sit in parliament, and, therefore, when the judges presented the list of sheriffs for the ensuing year, he struck out seven names, and wrote in their places those of Sir Edward Coke, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Robert Phillips, Sir Grey Palmer, Sir William Fleetwood, and Mr. Edward Alford, seven members who had given him the most trouble in the late parliament, and who were all resolute in their intention of impeaching the favourite.†

* Letter to Buckingham, in Hardwicke Papers.

† The great lawyer, after vexing the government with other legal points, maintained that, though a sheriff could not be returned for his shire, he might yet sit for some other shire or borough; and Coke actually got himself elected for the county of Norfolk. He did not, however, take his seat, though, he was permitted to enjoy the other privileges of a member of parliament.

A.D. 1626.—The opening of the session was fixed for the 6th of February. The king was to have been crowned at Christmas, but for several reasons—we believe the want of money may have been the principal—that ceremony was not performed till the 2nd of February. There were several things too striking to be omitted, which occurred in the ceremonial of this great Thursday. The queen, as a Catholic, was neither crowned nor present in the abbey. They offered to have a place fitted up for her, but she preferred occupying a window of a room at the palace gate, whence she might see them go and return without witnessing the religious ceremonies, which she had been taught to consider as heretical and damnable. It is mentioned by a careful relater of small things, that while her majesty stood at the window looking on the procession, her French ladies were frisking and dancing in the room. An important part was played in the Abbey by Laud, now bishop of St. David's, prebendary of Westminster, and on the high road to greater promotions, being much distinguished and favoured both by Buckingham and Charles. Buckingham was lord constable for the day: in ascending the steps to the throne he took the right hand of the king, and offered his left to his majesty, who, putting it by with his right hand, helped up the duke, saying to him, with a smiling countenance, "I have as much need to help you, as you to assist me." When the archbishop presented Charles, bare-headed, to the people, the people preserved a dead silence, and not one word followed the primate's adjuration, till my Lord Arundel, the earl marshal, told them they should cry out "God save King Charles!" upon which there followed a little shouting. The unction,—the anointing of the king's naked shoulders, arms, hands, and head,—things most abominable in the eyes of the Puritans, and ridiculous in the eyes of many other men, were all done behind a traverse or screen, and were performed by Archbishop Abbot, who, notwithstanding the absolution he had obtained from King James, was still suspected as being uncanonical and irregular, from his unfortunate killing of a man while hunting. Laud made several alterations in

the usual service, and composed an entirely new prayer, which went to establish a closer union than ever between king and bishops. "It was," says a courtly knight, "one of the most punctual coronations since the Conquest." It may have been this, but it was assuredly one of the dullest or the least honoured by the spontaneous joy of the nation. The fact is, Charles's sayings had gone abroad, and he was suspected in politics, in religion, and in everything else.

Four days after his coronation he opened the session of parliament* with a very short speech, telling them he was no orator, but desired to be known by his actions, not by his words, and referring them to the lord keeper, who would explain the business for which he had called them together. Bishop Williams, the man that was a diocese in himself,—the ready-witted Williams, who had saved Buckingham at a crisis, who had rendered many secret services,—was no longer lord keeper. He had quarrelled with the favourite at or immediately after the Oxford session; he had ventured to tell him "that he was engaged with the Earl of Pembroke to labour in the redress of the people's grievances, and was resolved to stand upon his own legs,"—and of course the bishop had fallen. The present lord keeper was Sir Thomas Coventry, the son of a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and a thorough-bred lawyer, who had gone through the grades of recorder of London, solicitor-general, and king's attorney. But if he knew law better than Bishop Williams, he was equally ready to stretch the royal prerogative as far as ever that base time-server had done. In his opening speech, to which the king had especially referred them, Coventry spoke of the "incomparable distance between the supreme height and majesty of a mighty monarch and the submissive awe and lowliness of loyal subjects." But the Commons had never been less disposed to listen to such language or submit to such pretensions. They had again met with a resolute will to canvass grievances and

* It is said that, at the opening of the session, one-half of the members of the Commons had not arrived from the country.

to punish the favourite of majesty; and dividing themselves into sections, and appointing standing committees, they proceeded to work fearlessly. Guided by the force without, by the zealous feelings of the people, and following in many particular instances their own inward conviction, they began again with the question of religion, and insisted on sharpening still more the legal sword against Papists. These champions of civil liberty would allow no freedom of conscience; and they invited their countrymen to aid them in a detestable system of denunciation and espionage.

In the very first week of the session a speech was made "somewhat eagerly, aiming at, but not naming, the duke; but it was not applauded nor seemingly liked by the House."* But this discouragement was merely given to some over-hasty orator: they were preparing a regular attack, and wished not for petty skirmishes. Their committee of grievances drew up an account of sixteen capital abuses, all fatal to the liberties of the people. Among these were the old curse of purveyance, and the new practice of levying the duties of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament; monopolies; great prodigality and malversation on the part of the ministry. They traced all these evils, all the disgraces sustained by the English flag by land and sea, and all other wrongs and misfortunes, to the "great delinquent." The king, anticipating their resolves, sent a message to the Commons, in which he chose to overlook the precedents of Bacon and Middlesex, and the notorious fact that he himself, as Prince of Wales, had joined Buckingham in procuring Middlesex's impeachment. "I must let you know," said he, "that I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned amongst you, much less such as are of eminent place and near unto me. I see you especially aim at the Duke of Buckingham. I wonder what hath so altered your affection towards him. I do well remember his favour with you in the last parliament of my father's time. . . . . What he hath done since to alter and change your minds

* Meade.

I wot not. . . . . I wish you would hasten my supply, or else it will be worse for yourselves; for, if any ill happen, I shall be the last shall feel it."

But the Commons maintained that it was "the ancient, constant, and undoubted right and usage of parliaments to question and complain of all persons of what degree soever, found dangerous to the commonwealth in abusing the power and trust committed to them by the sovereign:" they stopped the question of supplies,—they proceeded more vigorously than before against the favourite,—and, not having as yet got ready their direct testimony, they voted, almost by acclamation, that common fame was a good ground of proceeding, either by inquiry or presenting the complaint to the king or lords. Instead of taking warning, Charles sent down the lord keeper to rate them for their presumption, and to require the punishment of two members who had given him offence by insolent discourses in the House,—to tell them that it was his majesty's express and final commandment that they should yield obedience and cease their unparliamentary inquisition. There were some few court members who entertained the constitutional heresy that parliaments existed only by sufferance, and that they were things that might be made or unmade at the will of the sovereign. Sir Dudley Carleton, who, as a diplomatist, had travelled a great deal in the despotic states of the continent, drew a frightful but scarcely exaggerated picture of the misery of the people there. He could scarcely have found a better argument in favour of the determined struggle the Commons were making to check that despotism which was established elsewhere, and was the cause of the people's misery and abjectness; but, with an obliquity of vision scarcely conceivable in a well-educated gentleman, he saw in it an argument for the court. "He cautioned them not to make the king out of love with parliaments, by encroaching on his prerogative; for in his messages he had told them that he must then use new councils. In all Christian kingdoms there were parliaments anciently, till the monarchs, seeing their turbulent spirits, stood upon their prerogatives, and

overthrew them all except with us. In foreign countries the people look not like ours, with store of flesh on their backs, but like ghosts, being nothing but skin and bones, with some thin cover to their nakedness, and wearing wooden shoes on their feet—a misery beyond expression, and that we are yet free from; and let us not lose the repute of a free-born nation by our turbulency in parliament."* And that there might be no possibility of a mistake as to the king's real sentiment, or his absolute way of expressing it, Charles himself again addressed them, bidding them remember that parliaments were altogether in his power for their calling, sitting, or dissolution, and that therefore as he should find the fruits of them good or evil, they were to be or not to be. The Commons, thereupon, retired to deliberate, and they locked the doors of the House, and placed the key in the hands of the Speaker, Sir Heneage Finch. This unusual measure created a panic in the court, and Charles himself proposed and obtained a conference between the two Houses. In that meeting the favourite attempted to explain away the passages in the royal speeches and messages, and to justify his own conduct. He told them, moreover, that the king was willing to submit to the consideration of a *secret* committee of both Houses those defects of his estate which were not fit for the eyes of a multitude. But the Commons would not be moved from their original purpose: and, after the Easter recess, they impeached the favourite at the bar of the House of Lords. Buckingham, however, was attacked in that assembly by the peers themselves before the Commons brought up their impeachment. As if seized by a vertigo, Charles, not content with exasperating one branch of the legislature, engaged in a mad quarrel with the other. The Earl of Arundel, the marshal, had given some offence to Buckingham, and his son, Lord Maltravers, had privately married a daughter of the Duke of Lennox without obtaining the royal consent. Leaving the young lord, Charles fell upon the father, and, by royal warrant, Arundel was shut up in the Tower. This

* Rushworth.

seemed to the contrivers of it a masterly stroke; for Arundel, besides his own vote in the House of Lords, held five or six proxies. But the Lords presently took up the business, and, after a formal examination of precedents, they resolved "that no lord of parliament, the parliament sitting, or within the usual times of privilege of parliament, is to be imprisoned or restrained without sentence or order of the House, unless it be for treason or felony, or for refusing to give surety for the peace." They then sent an address to the king, respectfully calling for the immediate liberation of the Earl of Arundel. Charles returned an evasive answer;—the Lords sent him another address. The king deputed the attorney-general to explain the royal prerogative: but the Lords would not yield, and they came to a resolution to suspend all other business. At last the king yielded in a very ungracious manner: Arundel was set at liberty, and he took his seat, amidst the triumphant shouts and cheers of the house. After another struggle, the court sustained another humiliating defeat in the same high quarter, and another and a more deadly enemy of the favourite took his seat in the Lords. The Earl of Bristol, since his return from Spain, had never ceased petitioning that he might be heard in his defence and allowed to come to London. Now that he saw a strong opposition party organised in the House of Lords, which had so long been so very submissive and slavish, he sent up to claim from his peers his indisputable right. Buckingham would have preferred meeting the devil; but upon deliberation, it was deemed expedient to comply in outward appearance. A writ of summons was issued to call the earl up to parliament; but this was accompanied by a letter privately written, and charging him, as he feared the king's displeasure, to keep away. Bristol sent the letter to the House of Lords, inclosed in one of his own, soliciting their advice and demanding permission to accuse, in his place, the favourite. Upon this the king and Buckingham sent down the attorney-general, who the very next day charged Bristol at their lordship's bar with high treason. But the Lords could not help understanding this manœuvre, and they voted

that the one charge should be heard after the other,—that Bristol should make his accusation, and that the counter-accusation should neither prevent nor prejudice his evidence.*

Bristol drove to the House of Lords in a kind of triumph, with eight horses to his coach; but my Lord Duke of Buckingham went much more modestly than was his wont, in an old coach, with only some three footmen and no retinue. When he entered upon his accusation, Bristol charged the favourite with plotting with Gondomar to get the Prince of Wales into Spain for the purpose of converting him to popery previously to his marriage there; with having conformed to popish rites himself, and led an immoral and depraved life while in that country as the companion of the prince and the guest of the Spanish monarch; with having broken off the treaty of marriage out of private resentment and spite at the Spanish government, which had expressed its desire to have no more negotiating with so dissolute and dangerous a man; and with his abusing and deceiving King James and both Houses of Parliament on his return from Spain with a feigned and false narration.† On the other hand, Heath, the attorney-general, charged Bristol with having persuaded the prince to change his religion in order to marry the Infanta,—with having endeavoured to force that marriage upon his highness by delivering the procuration, and with having presented to the House of Lords a petition full of scandal and highly insulting to his majesty. The Lords agreed that these charges against the earl should be heard first. Bristol asked the attorney-general who was the prosecuting witness? Heath replied, that the prosecution was commanded by the king, and that some of the charges had been dictated by his majesty. Upon this avowal Bristol said, "that he

* Journals.

† Bristol also brought articles against Secretary Conway, now Lord Conway, whom he fairly represented as the creature of Buckingham. Conway maintained, that if he had done wrong it was in obedience to orders,—that he had never done anything without the king's express command.

would not contend with his sovereign, but that it might be of dangerous consequence if the king should be accuser, judge, witness, and have the confiscation."* The king ought in decency to have been quiet; but he could not trust the Lords. He sent the Lord Keeper Coventry, a principal agent and the legal adviser in this dilemma, to tell them that he himself, of his own knowledge, could exculpate the Duke of Buckingham; that Bristol, in impeaching the narrative of the Spanish match which the duke had made to parliament, touched him, who, as Prince of Wales, had vouched for the truth of that narrative; and that he trusted confidently that they would not equal the duke and the earl by a proceeding *pari passu*. The peers had the wisdom and spirit to disregard this message, upon which the king attempted to remove, by his arbitrary will, the case of Bristol from the House of Lords to the Court of King's Bench; but here again he was foiled by the peers, who firmly maintained their privileges. The lords consulted the judges upon the two following points:—Whether the king could be a witness in a case of treason? Whether, in Bristol's case, he could be a witness, admitting the treason done with his privity? The timid judges required a short time to deliberate: the king sent them a message and command to give no answer to the questions, seeing that he knew not what consequences might ensue to the prejudice of the rights of his crown, which he would not suffer to be diminished in his time. Bristol answered every particular of the charges brought against him with great spirit and perspicuity; his answer, which appears to have given general satisfaction to the Lords, was entered on the Journals.†

It was deemed expedient, or perhaps absolutely necessary, that Buckingham should stand the fire of the Commons before he met the charges of Bristol. The Lower House, by the beginning of the month of May, had appointed eight managers, with sixteen assistants, to confer with the Lords on the impeachment, and had voted, by a large majority, that the Lords should be

* Whitelock. † Rushworth.—Whitelock.

moved to commit the Duke of Buckingham to the Tower. On the 8th of May the impeachment was carried up to the peers. It was divided into thirteen separate charges, the chief of which were, that Buckingham had bought for money the posts of High Admiral and Warden of the Cinque Ports; had invested himself with several of the highest offices of the state, which had not before been held by one individual; had culpably neglected the guarding of the seas, and suffered the trade of the country to fall to ruin; had illegally detained, for his private profit, a French ship, and so provoked the French king to make reprisals on English merchants; had extorted 10,000*l.* from the East India Company; had put a squadron of English ships into the hands of the French king to be employed against the Protestants of Rochelle; had sold places of judicature; had procured honours and wealth for his poor kindred; had committed malversation in the Treasury; and had presumed to apply a plaster and give a drink to the late king on his death-bed against the orders of the physicians. The eight managers for the Commons were Sir Dudley Digges, Sir John Eliot, Serjeant Glanville, Seldon, Whitelock, Pym, Herbert, and Wandesford. Digges spoke the prologue. After comparing the parliament to the universe, the lords to the fixed stars, the commons to the lower world, the king to the glorious sun, he called Buckingham a comet—a prodigious comet—against whom, and his irregular ways, there were legal articles of charge to be delivered to their lordships. He then entered upon the articles of the impeachment; and, when he had done, Glanville, Seldon, and Pym spoke in detail upon the several charges. Sir John Eliot delivered the epilogue to the impeachment. He compared the inward character of the duke's mind to the beast called by the ancients *stellionatus*;"* a beast so blurred, so spotted, so full of foul lines, that they knew not what to make of it. "You

* The name of the animal alluded to is *stellio*; from which seems to have been formed the legal term *stellionatus*, meaning any nondescript or undefined crime.

have seen his power," continued the orator, "and some I fear have felt it. You have known his practice, and heard the effects. . . . I can hardly find him a parallel; none so like him as Sejanus, thus described by Tacitus, *audax, sui obtegens, in alios criminator, juxta adulator et superbus*. . . . For his pride and flattery it is noted of Sejanus that he did *clientes suos provinciis adornare:* doth not this man the like? Ask England, Scotland, and Ireland, and they will tell you. My lords, I have done; you see the man: by him came all the evils; in him we find the cause; in him we expect the remedies; and to this, we met your lordships in conference." During these vehement speeches Buckingham jeered and fleered, showing that he had more confidence in the power of the king to protect than in that of the parliament to punish him. Sir Dudley Digges, or Serjeant Glanville, was so provoked by his insolence, that, turning to the duke, he exclaimed, "My lord, do you jeer me? —are these things to be jeered at? My lord, I can show you when a man of a greater blood than your lordship, as high in place and power, and as deep in the favour of the king as you, hath been hanged for as small a crime as the least of these articles contain."* Sir John Eliot's quotations from Tacitus stung to the quick. For Buckingham to be a Sejanus the king must be a Tiberius —the inference was inevitable; and Charles, besides, knew that, in the charge about the plaster and the posset, it was meant that the late king had met with foul play, —a horrible, and, as we believe, an unfounded suspicion, which obtained among the people both before and long after this impeachment. He resolved to take vengeance on Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges; two days after they were called out of the House, as if the king had sent for them, and were carried to the Tower by water, it being given out that their arrest was for high treason. As soon as the news was carried into the House, there was a cry of "Rise! rise! rise!" which Mr. Pym not well understanding, stood up, and began to insinuate an ex-

* Meade.

hortation to patience and wisdom. Whereunto one Walters replied that he seemed to mistake the voice of the House, which, as he understood, had no other meaning but that it was time to rise and go to dinner. Charles, in the meanwhile, hurried to the House of Lords in a fury, not merely to complain of the insult offered to himself, but also to interpose his ægis between Buckingham and his accusers. "I have thought fit," said he, "to punish some insolent speeches lately spoken. I have been too remiss, hitherto, in punishing such speeches as concern myself; not that I was greedy of their monies, but that Buckingham, through his importunity, would not suffer me to take notice of them, lest he might be thought to have set me on, that he might come the forwarder to his trial. And to approve his innocency as touching the matters against him, I myself can be a witness to clear him in every one of them." While the king delivered this speech to the Lords, Buckingham, who ought to have been in the Tower, or at the least in custody of the Black Rod, stood confidently by his side. But, again they were both foiled by the high spirit of the Commons, who debated with closed doors on the violation of their privileges, and came to the resolution to stay all business till satisfaction were given. In a few days Charles was fain to release both Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Eliot, who returned to their seats in the house.*

Just at this moment the chancellorship of the University of Cambridge fell vacant; and Charles resolved that the high honour—as it was esteemed—should be conferred on the favourite, who was lying under two impeachments and branded by the people. The statutes and rights of the University were set at defiance, and at his majesty's command Buckingham was named Chancellor in the most irregular and unseemly manner. This was everywhere set down as a new proof of the king's settled intention to rule despotically in all matters. The honour or title (for honour it was not) did no good to Buckingham and a deal of harm to his master.

* Journals.—Rushworth.—Parl. Hist.

The favourite had now been allowed some time to prepare his defence to the Commons' impeachment, in doing which he had the assistance of Sir Nicholas Hyde. On the 8th of June, a week after his Cambridge election, he rose in the Lords with grace and modesty, and began his reply. He affirmed that some of the accusations against him were grossly exaggerated; that others were altogether groundless: but his great argument was, that he was only the servant of royalty—that all that he had done had been done in obedience either to the late or to the present king. He pleaded an anticipatory pardon, which had been granted him by Charles on the 10th of February, or four days after the opening of the present parliament. He said, however, that it was his earnest wish to go through a regular trial. But, on the very next day, the king addressed the following message to the Speaker of the Commons:—"We hold it necessary, by these our letters, to give them this our last and final admonition, and to let them know that we shall account all further delays and excuses to be express denials; and therefore we will and require you to signify unto them that we do expect that they do forthwith bring in their bill of subsidy to be passed without delay or *condition*, so as it may fully pass the House by the end of next week at furthest; which, if they do not, it will force us to take other resolutions." The Commons, who had been all along resolute that a reform of abuses and the dismissal of Buckingham should precede their bill of subsidy, drew up a declaration which they meant to present to the king in a body; but, while the business was still under discussion, they were suddenly summoned to attend his majesty in the House of Lords. Knowing what this signified, they took their declaration, which had been hastily drawn up, with them. Instead of the king, they found his commissioners for the dissolution of parliament. The speaker held up his paper and proclaimed its contents, the most important of which was a humble petition to his majesty for the removal of the favourite from access to his royal presence. The Lords, foreseeing much mischief, implored Charles for a

short delay: his answer was, "No, not for a minute."* Thus ended, on the 15th of June, 1626, his second parliament.

Before they retired to their homes, to await in patience to see what the assumed divine right would do for the king, without their vote of supplies, the Commons took care to disperse their declaration or remonstrance. The paper was calculated to make a deep impression on the popular mind. The king replied by a counter-declaration, an excusable measure, though his paper contained many equivocations and some falsehoods; but not resting here, he, by a proclamation, commanded all persons having a copy or notes of the Commons' paper to burn the same, under pain of his indignation. Immediately after the dissolution the Earl of Arundel was confined in his own house, and the Earl of Bristol was sent to the Tower. A warrant was issued under the great seal for levying duties on all imports and exports; the trade in fines for religion was revived with more vigour than ever: a commission was appointed to inquire into the arrears due by the Catholics, to compound with them for immediate payments, and to secure regular returns of this odious kind of revenue; another commission was appointed to manage the extensive crown lands, and to improve in various ways the rents derived from them; fresh privy seals for loans were issued to the nobility, gentry, and merchants; and a demand for 120,000*l.* was made upon the city of London. Moreover, London and the seaport towns were commanded to furnish ships for the defence of the coast and the protection of commerce in the narrow seas; and the lord-lieutenants of counties were ordered to muster troops to be ready to meet insurrection at home or invasion from abroad. But all these minor resources of despotism were insufficient to supply the vacuum in the royal treasury, and Charles presently proceeded to the extreme measure of a forced loan on a grand scale. The members of the Protestant

* Rushworth.—Parl. Hist.

alliance had reaped nothing but disgrace and loss from their connexion with him and his unfortunate brother-in-law the Palatine. His uncle, the King of Denmark, was completely routed on the 27th of August, and driven behind the Elbe by the Imperialists under Count Tilly; and not only the cause of the Palatine, but also that of Protestantism in Germany, seemed desperate. The council impudently pretended that parliament was not called together at this crisis only because the urgency of the case would not allow time for their assembling and deliberating; and, therefore, a general loan was exacted, and each individual was called upon to contribute according to his rating in the last subsidy. Commissioners were let loose upon the land with books and registers, and most tyrannical instructions of the king's and the council's making. The money, it was said, would all be paid back by the king to his loving subjects out of the next subsidies voted by parliament; but people knew not when the king and parliament would agree, and they had already ample grounds for doubting the veracity and good faith of Charles and Buckingham, who still seemed one and indivisible. Many who had refused to contribute to the loan were visited by all the vengeance of absolutism: the rich were imprisoned—the poorer sorts sent to serve in the army or navy; nor would Charles in any one instance step between the severity of his agents and their victims. In the list of the sufferers are the illustrious names of Sir John Eliot and Mr. John Hampden.* Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford, who began his political career as a reformer and patriot, was also imprisoned. The poor—the victims too obscure to be named—suffered most; but their wrongs equally with those of the greater patriots helped to swell the detestation of despotism, and to purchase the liberties which we now enjoy. In several towns the tradespeople made a bold resistance. Any opposition or lukewarmness on the part of a crown officer or any servant of government ensured his disgrace and dismissal. Sir Ran-

* Rushworth.—Whitelock.

dolph Crew, the chief justice of the King's Bench, was removed for "showing no zeal, and his place was given to Sir Nicholas Hyde, who had assisted Buckingham in his defence."* We believe that there were not many sufferers of this class. The lawyers and judges, however, subservient as they were, were patriots compared to the bishops and the high-church party. Laud, whom Charles had translated on the 20th of June, 1626, from the see of St. David's to that of Bath and Wells, drew up a set of instructions, in the king's name, to the clergy, who were enjoined to preach the merits of lending or giving money without authority of parliament, and to make those merits appear as essential to salvation. To remove any doubt as to his approbation of a confederacy or league of church and state against parliament and the people, Laud expressly avowed it in the preamble to these instructions.† Forthwith the pulpits resounded with this exchequer preaching, and the established clergy tried to outstrip one another in a race whose goal was marked by a mitre. Dr. Roger Mainwaring, one of the king's chaplains, delivered two sermons highly against the power of parliament before the king and court at Whitehall, proclaiming, and attempting to prove by texts of Scripture, that the sovereign was not bound to keep and observe the laws of the realm; that parliament was an inferior sort of council; that the royal will was enough for the imposing of taxes; and that any disobedience or refusal to pay money for his use would assuredly be punished in the next world. Robert Sibthorp, vicar of Brackley, who was tired of the obscure life of a country parson and longing after promotion, went, if possible, beyond Dr. Mainwaring. In an assize sermon, preached at Northampton, upon the text—"Render, therefore, to all their dues"‡—he told the people that, even if the prince, the anointed of the Lord, should command a thing contrary to the laws of God or of nature, still the sub-

* Rushworth.—Whitelock, says the chief justice, not favouring the loan, was put out of his place.

† Heylin's Life of Laud.

‡ Romans, ch. xiii. ver. 7.

jects were bound to submit to the punishment, only praying secretly that Heaven might turn the prince from the error of his ways, but offering no resistance, no railing, no reviling—nothing but a passive obedience. Not satisfied with merely preaching this sermon, Sibthorp determined to print it under the title of 'Apostolic Obedience.' Here a licence was necessary, and an application was made for one to the primate. Abbot, notwithing the king's orders, absolutely refused to grant the licence, or declare that the precious stuff was orthodox. Hereupon Abbot was suspended, and confined to a country-house in Kent; his functions were intrusted to a commission; and Laud, who was one of the commissioners, licensed the sermon. This rising churchman, who, if we may believe Abbot and others, was "the only inward counsellor" with Buckingham, received the new promotion of dean of the Chapel Royal. Dr. Roger Mainwaring, like Montague, got a bishopric; Sibthorp was not quite so fortunate—for he could obtain only a chaplainship in ordinary to his majesty, a stall in Peterborough, and the rectory of Burton Latimer, in Northamptonshire.* For twenty years the high-church party had been labouring hard for despotism, but their system only drove people the faster into the ranks of their opponents, the Puritans; and these last proceedings tended wonderfully to convince men's minds that the bishops, and priests, deacons, and other ministers, were the creatures of the court, the instinctive enemies of all who cherished the ancient liberties of the land, and who contemplated the extension of those liberties and their establishment upon a broader and sounder foundation. Thus many men of mark, who had no love for the more fanatic notions of the Puritans, and no decided aversion to the creed and ceremonies of the church by law established, arrayed themselves against the whole hierarchy, and

* Rushworth.—Heylin.—That honest Puritan, old Andrew Marvell, says of Mainwaring and Sibthorp, "They were excedingly pragmatical, intolerably ambitious, and so desperately proud, that scarcely any gentleman might come near the tail of their mules."—*Wood, Athenæ Oxonienses.*

prepared to make the Puritan fanaticism a sharp sword against civil tyranny.

In the mean time, while clouds were gathering abroad, Charles had nothing but storms in his own house. These latter he attributed entirely, not to his wife's natural temper, but to the influence of the French people about her. At last, seeing that they would not be gone unless they were forced away, and being less delicate than formerly about the French court, he came to an unalterable decision. One fine summer afternoon he passed, apparently without being announced, into the queen's side of the house, "and, finding some Frenchmen, her servants, unreverently dancing and curvetting in her presence, took her by the hand, and led her into his lodgings, locking the door after him, and shutting out all save only the queen. Presently upon this, my Lord Conway called forth the French bishop and others of that clergy into St. James's Park, where he told them the king's pleasure was, all her majesty's servants of that nation, men and women, young and old, should depart the kingdom; together with the reasons that enforced his majesty so to do. The bishop stood much upon it, that, being in the nature of an ambassador, he could not go unless the king his master should command him; but he was told again, that the king his master had nothing to do here in England, and that if he were unwilling to go, England would find force enough to convey him hence."* Having brought the bishop to reason, my Lord Conway, accompanied by Mr. Treasurer and Mr. Comptroller, went into the queen's apartments, and told all the French that were there that it was his majesty's pleasure they should all depart thence to Somerset House, there to remain away from the queen till further orders. "The women howled and lamented as if they had been going to execution, but all in vain, for the yeomen of the guard, by that lord's appointment, thrust them and all their country-folks out of the queen's lodgings, and locked the doors after them. It is said

* Letter from John Pory to Meade, in Ellis.

also the queen, when she understood the design, grew very impatient, and broke the glass windows with her fist; but since, I hear, her rage is appeased, and the king and she, since they went together to Nonsuch, have been very jocund together. The same day, the French being all at Somerset House, the king (as I have heard some to affirm) went thither and made a speech to them to this purpose;—that he hoped the good king, his brother of France, would not take amiss what he had done; for the French, he said, had occasioned many jars and discontents between the queen and him; such, indeed, as longer were insufferable. He prayed them, therefore, to pardon him, if he sought his own ease and safety; and said, moreover, that he had given order to his treasurer to reward every one of them for their year's service. So the next morning, being Tuesday, there was distributed among them eleven thousand pounds in money, and about twenty thousand pounds' worth of jewels."* Two of the queen's women-servants—her nurse, and one that had used to dress her—and some dozen others of the inferior sort, as cooks, bakers, &c., were allowed to remain: all the rest were shipped at Dover a week after. It appears that Buckingham executed the high commission, which was not unattended with difficulty, of getting them out of London; for on the 7th of August the king, who was at Oaking, wrote entirely with his own royal hand the following letter: "Steenie, I have received your letter by Dick Græme; this is my answer. I command you to send all the French away to-morrow out of the town. If you can, by fair means (but stick not long in disputing), otherways force them away, driving away like so many wild beasts until ye have shipped them; and so the devil go with them. Let me hear no answer, but of the performance of my command. So I rest, &c."† Some time before the scene at White-

* Letter from John Pory to Meade. The amount actually given was not so great by 8328*l*. The list of the individuals and of the sums severally received by them is preserved in one of the Harleian MSS., and is given by Sir H. Ellis.

† Sir H. Ellis, Collect. of Letters.

hall, four new ladies of the queen's bedchamber, all English, had been sworn. The first of these was the Duchess of Buckingham. Charles immediately dispatched Sir Dudley Carleton to Paris, to explain away and justify his breach of the marriage treaty. Louis, his mother Maria de' Medici, his minister Richelieu, all gave Carleton a very cold reception. There was even a talk of avenging the wrongs of Henrietta Maria by a recourse to arms: but Richelieu had already wars enough on his hands; and in the month of September they sent the gallant, witty, splendid, and profligate Marshal de Bassompierre to England, as special ambassador, to set it all right. The Marshal was very courteously received by Buckingham, the Earl of Dorset, and other courtiers.

The French court complained, through its ambassador, as well of the general infraction of the promises made by Charles and his father of a full toleration, as of the treatment of the queen and her domestics; and it had also requested his majesty the king of Great Britain to ordain a better and more moderate usage of his subjects professing the Catholic Apostolical Roman religion. The English council, at the very moment when the Catholics were being disarmed, fined, imprisoned, and made to compound with the sacrifice of their property for the privilege, not to profess their religion openly, but to *live* in England, insisted that there was no persecution, no infraction of the treaty upon that point. They boasted that his present majesty had made no new laws against the Catholics, and that he had not allowed one drop of blood to be spilt, either of Jesuit, priest, or other Roman Catholic since his accession. They could not deny that Charles and his father had allowed the French court to interfere in the religion and government of the nation; they admitted all the articles of the marriage-treaty, which had been confirmed by Charles since his accession, but they pretended that all the religious part of that treaty was simply a matter of form to satisfy the Roman Catholic party of France, and the pope, who might otherwise have withheld the necessary dispensation. When statesmen could make treaties and

speak of them a few months after in this manner, national agreements were no better than so much dirty paper. The English council then turned the tables upon the French, who had not been more honest, but who had taken good care not to commit themselves, as the English court had done, by signing treaties and specific clauses. It was alleged that King Louis had solemnly promised, as a sequel to the marriage of his sister, to convert his alliance with England into an alliance offensive and defensive,—to co-operate with arms and money for the recovery of the Palatinate,—to allow Count Mansfeldt to land at Calais, with free permission on all occasions to march, take up quarters in France, or re-embark,—and to assist Mansfeldt, the King of Denmark, and the Protestant princes of Germany; and the council maintained that none of these promises had been kept, and that hence numerous disasters had befallen the friends, relations, and allies of King Charles. They also accused Louis of not conforming to the articles he had entered into with the Huguenots, and particularly those of Rochelle, who had consented to accept them by the friendly interposition of King Charles; and they asserted that his majesty considered himself bound, not only by the prayers of the party interested and the confidence they reposed in him, but also by the feelings and opinions of the world at large, to importune his brother-in-law to observe this compact with his Protestant subjects. On the other great point the council admitted that it was expressly promised in the treaty of marriage that Madame Henrietta Maria and all her household should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and that all her servants and officers should be French Roman Catholics, selected by his most Christian majesty; but they insisted that neither the letter nor the spirit of the agreement had been violated, for, though the French had been sent back, it was not as Catholics, but as offenders who had disturbed the affairs of the kingdom and the domestic government of his majesty's house. They then asserted, as proofs, several flagrant cases, of which the following are the most important:—1. That the bishop and his

priests had created factions and dissensions,—excited fear and mistrust in the Protestants,—encouraged the Catholics, and even instigated the disaffected in parliament. 2. That some of the French had lent their names to others for the purpose of taking houses in the fields, where, under their protection, priests had their retreat and performed their masses, &c. 3. That they had converted the queen's own lodgings into a place of rendezvous for Jesuits and fugitives, and a place of security for the persons, property, and papers of such as had violated the laws. 4. That they had laboured to create in the gentle mind of the queen a repugnance to all that his majesty desired or ordered, even to what he did for the honour of his dignity, and for the comfort and establishment of his household, and had avowedly fomented discords between their majesties as a thing essential to the welfare of their church. 5. That they had subjected he person of the queen to the rules of, as it were, monastic obedience, in order to oblige her to do many base and servile acts, which were not only unworthy of the majesty of a queen, but also very dangerous to her health. 6. That they had abused the influence which they had acquired over the tenderness and religious mind of her majesty, so far as to lead her a long way on foot, through a park, the gates of which had been expressly ordered by the Count de Tilliers to be kept open, to go in devotion to a place (Tyburn) where it had been the custom to execute the most infamous malefactors and criminals of all sorts, exposed on the entrance of a high road; an act not only of shame and mockery towards the queen, but of reproach and calumny of the king's predecessors of glorious memory, as accusing them of tyranny in having put to death innocent persons, whom these people look upon as martyrs; although, on the contrary, not one of them had been executed on account of religion, but for high treason. 7. That King Charles having borne with them long, and admonished them in the vain hope of amendment, and being most anxious to preserve a good understanding and friendship with his dear brother, he had commissioned the Duke of Buckingham to

go from Holland into France, to give full information in these matters, conceiving the duke, who had contributed so much to the accomplishment of the marriage, to be the most proper agent; but that this journey had been prevented by the intimation which was given to the duke that the King of France was averse to it. Bassompierre defended, as best he could, and without any scrupulous adherence to truth, the political conduct of his own court; and he then spoke for the expelled French attendants, palliating or denying altogether the charges brought against them. With respect to the procession to Tyburn and the prayers offered there, he told the council he knew very well that they themselves did not believe that story which they wished to make other people believe. It was true, he said, that the Queen of Great Britain, by permission of the king her husband, kept her jubilee in the chapel of the Fathers of the Oratory at St. James's; and after her devotions, which terminated with vespers, she went in the cool of the evening to promenade in St. James's Park, and thence to Hyde Park, as she had often done before, but that she did not go in procession, nor say any prayers, nor kneel, nor approach the gibbet within fifty paces. But, not satisfied with his denial, he offered to justify the fact, or rather that part of it which related to praying for those who had suffered at Tyburn, if it had taken place. In the end of all, Charles conceded that his wife should have one French bishop and twelve French priests (none of them to be Jesuits), two French ladies of the bedchamber, and three French *femmes de chambre*, a laundress, a clear-starcher, two physicians, one apothecary, a surgeon, a lord chamberlain, an equerry, a secretary, a gentleman usher, three valets, cooks at discretion, two chapels, ten musicians, a burying-ground, and the particular glory of giving freedom to a certain number of English priests detained in prison. Bassompierre left London with sixteen English priests included in his numerous retinue. Buckingham followed him on his road to talk about his own expedition to Paris, but the marshal now persuaded him to break off or delay

that journey. As soon as Bassompierre arrived at Paris, he found (what he knew very well before) that the coming of the Duke of Buckingham was not agreeable; and the queen herself desired him to write and let him know that he should desist from it.*

It has been generally admitted by historians—and we see slight ground for questioning the received opinion—that from this moment Buckingham, who had been heard to swear that he would go into France again in spite of King Louis—as an enemy, if they would not admit him as a friend—determined at all hazards to force a war with France upon his master, who had not the means of honourably supporting the war in which he was already engaged with Spain. It is true that there had been many previous causes of difference between the two courts,—that there had been seizures of ships and merchandise on both sides.—But it was not till this critical juncture that Charles gave the Soubise a royal commission to levy men and ships under pretext of their being employed against Spain.†

The relief of the Rochellers—the support of the Huguenot Protestant cause in France—had ever been an object near to the hearts of the English people; and it is pretty safe to conjecture that, among the motives that drove Charles and the favourite into this rash war was a glimmering of hope that they might thereby recover the short popularity they had enjoyed during the last parliament of King James. By the month of May (1627) they had collected a fleet of a hundred sail, giving out that it was intended to chastise the Spaniards and retrieve the honour lost on the Isla de Leon. Buckingham, who, it appears, attributed that failure to the circumstance of his not having personally commanded, resolved to go with the present expedition as high admiral and generalissimo. This self-confident, vain-glorious man had no knowledge or experience of the art of war: he had never seen a gun fired except on parade or in a salute, and his high presumption made him despise the advice and guidance of others. But, as if this were not

* Ambassades de Bassompierre. † Rymer.

enough to ensure fresh defeat and disgrace, he went to sea without any concert or understanding with those with whom he was to act. Leaving Portsmouth on the 27th of June, with his hundred ships and seven thousand land troops, who knew not whither they were going, he came to anchor off Rochelle on the 11th of July. There he expected to be received with open arms, but the Rochellers refused to admit him into their town, and advised him to go and make himself master of the Isle of Rhé, in the neighbourhood. On the following day he landed a part of his army under the fire of his ships, and defeated a small French force commanded by Thoiras, the governor of the island. Buckingham then wasted four or five days in landing the rest of his troops, or in doing nothing. Thoiras employed this precious time in conveying all the wine and provisions from the town of St. Martin into the strong fortress, and in improving the defences of the castle. When Buckingham moved, instead of taking the Fort of La Prée, which then might easily have been done, he turned it and left it in his rear. He poured his troops into the bare and empty town of St. Martin; but the citadel, strongly placed on a rock, filled the minds of those who knew something about war with serious apprehensions. Buckingham, who had expected to take it by a *coup de main*, now resolved upon a regular siege, the preparations for which were much criticised. On the 14th of August Charles wrote to felicitate (rather prematurely) the favourite upon his taking of Rhé,—to promise him more men—more provisions—more money—and to tell him to prosecute the war, and "by no means to be the first motioner of a treaty . . .; but if the French court should offer, then to hearken, but not to believe too hastily."* In the same letter the king spoke of a manifesto, which Buckingham had prepared, to rouse all the French Protestants to arms. "I would wish you," he says, "to alter one point in it, that, whereas ye seem to make the cause of religion the only reason that made me take

* Hardwicke State Papers.

arms, I would only leave you declare it the chief cause; you have no need to name any other." The manifesto, when it went forth to the Huguenots, seconded by Soubise, his brother, the Duke of Rohan, and their stirring agents, produced a much greater effect than Buckingham's great guns were doing. In the south of France the Protestants rose almost to a man, and the Rochellers, for the last time, openly raised the standard of revolt. Towards the end of August—for days and weeks went on without any impression being made upon the citadel—an attempt was made, or was said to have been made, upon the life of Buckingham by a French papist or Jesuit, with a thick three-edged knife.* Notwithstanding Charles's praise that the duke was "a proficient in the trade of war which he had so happily begun," every part of the service was conducted wildly and at random. Even the fleet, which remained to prevent the landing of any French reinforcements upon the island, did its duty so badly that, on the 28th of September, a French flotilla broke through and revictualled the garrison of St. Martin, which must otherwise have surrendered for want of provisions. The army was quite ready to lay the whole blame upon the navy, and to be gone; and the colonels of regiments signed a paper which recommended the abandonment of the siege. Buckingham knew not whether he should go or stay, changing his mind several times a-day. On the 1st of August the king wrote to apologise for his slowness, the cause whereof was the hardness of getting mariners and the slow proceedings of the commissioners of the navy; but he assured the duke that his friend the Earl of Holland should soon be with him; and he

* Hardwicke State Papers. The very most was made of this incident, as if to endear the favourite to all good Protestants. As soon as he came home covered with disgrace, a narrative was published in a quarto pamphlet; and to make the thing more striking to vulgar minds, there was given in it a wood-cut representing the identical thick three-edged knife.

thanked him for his stout heart in not leaving the siege and coming home.* Holland landed on the island of Rhé on the 27th of October, with fifteen hundred men; and the Rochellers sent a reinforcement of six or seven hundred. On the 6th of November the duke, who had not made a single breach, led his men to storm the hard rocks and walls of the citadel, where they were repulsed with loss at all points. He then turned to retreat to his ships; but this was no longer an easy operation; Marshal Schomberg, with a considerable French army, had thrown himself between the duke and the fleet, and had put a strong corps and artillery into the fort of La Prée, which Buckingham had left in his rear. There was also to cross a narrow causeway, flanked on both sides with marshes and salt-pits, and now swept by Schomberg with a cross fire. Not a single precaution had been taken, and nothing but the native courage of the men and their leader (for Buckingham himself was personally brave) prevented a surrender at discretion, or an absolute destruction. The English rushed like bull-dogs upon the causeway; and when they got beyond it, notwithstanding their frightful loss, they turned their faces towards the French, formed in good order, and offered them battle. But Schomberg, too glad to see them gone, declined the contest, and permitted them to re-embark without offering them further molestation. The precious fruits of this expedition were the loss of half the English troops that had been engaged in it, and the speedy ruin of the Rochellers and French Protestants. The duke, still loth to leave the French shore, and seeing no hope of doing anything near Rochelle, where an immense army was concentrating under the command of Louis's brother, Gaston duke of Orleans, conceived some very notable project upon

* Hardwicke Papers.—Charles tells Buckingham that he fears lest "some rascal may cast doubts in the army, as if I neglected you, which I imagine is likely enough to fall out, since some villains here stick not to divulge it." These hard terms, rascal, villain, &c., are constantly flowing from the royal pen.

that old jewel of the English crown, the city of Calais; and his master had written to tell him that he much approved of that design, and would see him provided in all things necessary for the execution of it with all diligence; "and for secrecy," added Charles, "I shall speak of it to no living soul but to Jack Epslie, whom I have sent for."* But when the favourite counted his losses, he thought it better to give up this enterprise and return straight to England, where, as his master told him, he could not come sooner than welcome. And, in effect, when he arrived at the end of November, with a disgraced flag and a murmuring fleet, Charles received him with an increase rather than a diminution of affection and confidence, at which people lifted up their hands; and some said that assuredly nothing but death would part the king and this minister. The nation was now sorely hurt in its pride, and thus made the more sensible to the illegal attacks on its purse. "The refusers," as those were called who resisted the loan, had been brought up to London and imprisoned by scores. When they claimed their liberty by *habeas corpus*, they were told that they were detained by the king's especial commandment. Selden and the other constitutional lawyers referred to Magna Charta and its thirty-times-repeated confirmation by different sovereigns; and their discourses sent the people to study the ancient charters and rights of the nation.

A.D. 1628.—Such was the state of affairs at home when Charles was persuaded, much against his own feelings, to summon a parliament, in order to obtain the means of renewing, with better success, the war abroad. The writs were issued on the 29th of January for a parliment to meet on the 17th of March; but they had scarcely gone forth when the king appointed commissioners to collect war-money from the different counties, and inform the people that if they paid dutifully the sums required of them he would meet the parliament, if not,

* Hardwicke Papers.—This Jack Epslie was a confidential messenger, much employed by Buckingham.

he would think of some more speedy way. Upon this mad proceeding there arose a universal cry of disappointment and anger: the commissioners stood aghast, and Charles made haste to revoke the commission by a proclamation, wherein he promised to rely on the love of his people as expressed by parliament. But this revocation could not undo the mischief which had been so rashly done; and, pinched by his necessities, Charles in a few days proceeded to impose some new duties on merchandise of his own authority. Both ministers and judges seem to have feared impeachment: the judges had the honesty to declare that the duties were illegal; and here again the king retraced his steps, and called in his orders.* At this time Charles had an unusual number of troops at his command, and a project was entertained, and even settled in all its details, for the bringing over some thousands of foreign mercenaries. Hence arose a greater excitement than ever, and a resolution to return the most patriotic or democratic members to the House of Commons. The people of Westminster elected Bradshaw, a brewer, and Maurice, a grocer; other places followed their example in rejecting the men that had betrayed either timidity or subserviency to the court. When the Commons met, on the 17th of March, their house was crowded, and their aggregate wealth was said to be three times greater than that of the House of Lords;—such had been the fruits of commerce and industry,—such the rise of the third estate, which had now the power as well as the right of asserting its due influence. It was also observed that many of the popular members were followed up to London by a train of well-doing, hardy freeholders, far more numerous than the train of any of the peers. Shortly before their assembling, Charles (as boons and great graces) liberated seventy-eight gentlemen who were in prison for refusing to contribute to his forced loan, opened the gates of the Tower to the Earl of Bristol, and restored Archbishop Abbot to the exercise of his authority. But such was

* Rushworth.—Somers's Tracts.—Rymer.

the temper of Charles, he could not make an opening speech to go in tune with the times. "I have called you together," said he, "judging a parliament to be the ancient, the speediest, and the best way, to give such supply as to secure ourselves and save our friends from imminent ruin. Every man must now do according to his conscience; wherefore if you, which God forbid, should not do your duties in contributing what this state at this time needs, I must, in discharge of my conscience, use those other means which God has put into my hands to save that which the follies of other men may otherwise hazard to lose. Take not this as a threatening (I scorn to threaten any but my equals), but as an admonition from him that, both out of nature and duty, hath most care of your preservation and prosperities."*

The Commons had not met to threaten; they were cool and collected, and did not even lose temper at this irritating speech, or the more biting harangue of the lord keeper, who told them that the king had chosen a parliamentary way to obtain supplies, not as the only way, but as the fittest; not because he was destitute of other means, but because this was most agreeable to the goodness of his own most gracious disposition. "If this be deferred," cried this precious politician, "necessity and the sword may make way for others. Remember his majesty's admonition; I say remember it!" Here was threatening enough; but the House maintained its composure, and, without invective or much delay, resolved to grant five subsidies, and agreed that the whole should be paid within the year; but they also resolved that the king should not have this money until he formally recognised some of the most sacred rights of the people, and gave a solemn pledge for the redress of grievances. "It will in us be wrong done to ourselves, to our posterity, to our consciences, if we forego this just claim and pretension," said Sir Francis Seymour. Coke, more vigorous than ever, because more patriotic, invoked the ancient laws, and made several effective speeches against forced

* Journals.—Parl. Hist.—Rushworth.

loans and irregular imprisonments. Other members spoke well and at large upon the recent abuses of billeting soldiers, raising money by loans, by benevolences, and privy seals; "and, what was too fresh in memory, the imprisonment of certain gentlemen, who refused to lend, and, afterwards bringing their *habeas corpus*, were, nevertheless, remanded to prison."* In vain one court member bade them take heed of distrusting the king, who was young and vigorous, and did these and the like things out of necessity; in vain another spoke of the king's goodness being *next only to that of God;* the Commons would not be moved a hair's breadth from their purpose. "Let us work while we have time," cried Coke; "I am absolutely for giving supply to his majesty, but yet with some caution. Let us not flatter ourselves. Who will give subsidies if the king may impose what he will? I know he is a religious king, free from personal vices; but he deals with other men's hands, and sees with other men's eyes." On the 8th day of May the Commons passed the following resolutions, without a dissentient voice:—"1. That no freeman ought to be committed, or detained in prison, or otherwise restrained, by command of the king, or the privy council, or any other; unless some cause of the commitment, detainer, or restraint, be expressed, for which, by law, he ought to be committed, detained, or restrained. 2. That the writ of *habeas corpus* cannot be denied, but ought to be granted to every man that is committed or detained in prison, or otherwise restrained, by the command of the king, the privy council, or any other; he praying the same. 3. That if a freeman be committed or detained in prison, or otherwise restrained, by command of the king, privy council, or any other, no cause of such commitment, &c., being expressed; and the same be returned upon an *habeas corpus* granted for the said party, that then he ought to be delivered or bailed. 4. That the ancient and undoubted right of every freeman is, that he hath a full and absolute property in his goods and estate; and that

* Parl. Hist.

no tax, tallage, loan, benevolence, or other like charges, ought to be commanded, or levied by the king or his ministers, without common assent of parliament."* The Lords were not altogether prepared to second the commons; the king was determined to cling to the prerogatives or abuses of his predecessors: and, above all, to that particular practice by which, at his own will, he sent the subject to a prison without assigning cause, or bringing him to a fair trial; and, though eager for the five subsidies, which he must have well known he could not get without gratifying the Commons, Charles let his intentions appear broadly through a very thin and transparent veil of compliment and cajolery. Buckingham also did infinite mischief to his cause, by an impertinent interference, which was denounced in the Commons by Sir John Eliot. Meanwhile the mighty stream rolled onward in its resistless course. After some conferences with the Lords, who were as anxious as themselves to put an end at least to arbitrary imprisonment, the Commons, on the 28th of May, prayed the king's assent to the celebrated "PETTION OF RIGHT." They humbly showed to his majesty that, by the statute made in the reign of King Edward I., commonly called *Statutum de Tallagio non concedendo*, no tallage or aid could be levied by the king without consent of parliament; that, by authority of parliament, holden in the 25th year of King Edward III., it was declared and enacted, that from thenceforth no person should be compelled to make any loans to the king—such loans being against reason and the franchises of the land. "And," continued the petition, "by other laws of this realm, it is provided, that none should be charged, by any charge or imposition called a benevolence, nor by such like charge; by which the statute before mentioned, and the other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not set by common consent in parliament: yet, neverthe-

* Rushworth.

less, of late, divers commissions, directed to sundry commissioners, in several counties, with instructions, have issued, by pretext whereof your people have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money unto your majesty, and many of them, upon their refusal so to do, have had an unlawful oath administered unto them, not warrantable by the laws and statutes of this realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance and give attendance before your privy council, and in other places; and others of them have therefore been imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted; and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people in several counties, by lords lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, commissioners for musters, justices of peace, and others, by command or direction from your majesty or your privy council, against the laws and free customs of this realm." Then, invoking Magna Charta, the Commons declared, that, by that great charter of the liberties of England, it was enacted, that no freeman should suffer in person or property, be imprisoned, outlawed, or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land. "Nevertheless," they continued, "against the tenor of the said statutes, and other the good laws and statutes of your realm, to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned, without any cause showed; and when, for their deliverance, they were brought before your justices, by your majesty's writs of *habeas corpus*, there to undergo and receive, as the court should order, and their keepers commanded to certify the causes of their detainer, no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your majesty's special command, signified by the lords of your privy council; and yet were returned back to several prisons, without being charged with any thing, to which they might make answer by due process of law." They next recited how of late great companies of soldiers and mariners had been dispersed through the counties and billeted in the private houses of the inhabitants, to their great grievance and vexation, and against

the laws and customs of this realm. And they then proceeded to make their complaint against martial law, which had been introduced, ostensibly at least, to check the excesses of the troops destined for the continental wars. They told the king, that, by the said great charter and other laws and statutes of this his realm, no man ought to be condemned to death except by the laws established. "Nevertheless," they added, "of late, divers commissions under your majesty's great seal have issued forth, by which certain persons have been assigned and appointed commissioners, with power and authority to proceed, within the land, according to the justice of martial law, against such soldiers and mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or misdemeanor whatsoever; and, by such summary course or order as is agreeable to martial law, and is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and put to death, according to the law martial; by pretext whereof, some of your majesty's subjects have been, by some of the said commissioners, put to death," &c. &c. In the end, they prayed that all these proceedings and practices should cease, as being contrary to the rights and liberties of the subject, and the laws of the land. Charles, who would fain have avoided committing himself by any direct answer,—who was averse to the surrender of the smallest portion of what he considered his prerogative, but who was gasping for the subsidies,—returned this answer to the Petition of Right: "The king willeth, that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm; and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrongs or oppressions, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself, in conscience, as well obliged, as of his own prerogative."*

To have remained satisfied with a stinted and in-

* Journal.—Parl. Hist.

direct assurance like this would have been the act of imbeciles or cowards. The Commons, who felt the righteousness of the cause they had taken in hand, and the consciousness of their own great power, not only were not contented, but were indignant. And Charles added fuel to the flames by sending a message to acquaint them with his intention of proroguing parliament on the 11th of June. This message was delivered on the 5th of June, and on the following day the king repeated it, accompanied with a harsh command not to censure, or enter upon any new business which might lead to the censuring or aspersion of, any of the officers of his government. The anger of the Commons was expressed in eloquent language, mingled with, but scarcely softened by, the religious feeling. Several members said that the sinful state of the nation went to defeat the glorious hopes they had entertained. "I perceive," exclaimed Sir Robert Philips, "that towards God and towards man, there is little hope, after our humble and careful endeavours, seeing our sins are many and so great. This message stirs me up; especially when I remember with what moderation we have proceeded." Sir John Eliot continued in the same religious strain:—"Our sins," said he, "are so exceeding great, that unless we speedily turn to God, God will remove himself farther from us. I doubt, a misrepresentation to his majesty hath drawn this mark of his displeasure upon us. I observe in the message, amongst other sad particulars, it is conceived that we were about to lay some aspersions on the government. It is said also as if we cast some aspersions on his majesty's ministers: I am confident no minister, how dear soever, can——" Here Finch, the courtly Speaker of the House, started up from his chair, and, apprehending that Sir John intended to fall upon the duke, said, with tears in his eyes, "There is a command laid upon me to interrupt any that should go about to lay an aspersion on the ministers of state." Upon this, Sir John sat down, and there was silence for a while. Then Sir D. Digges said, "Unless we may speak of these things in parliament, let us arise and begone, or sit still and do nothing."

And hereupon there was another deep silence for a while, which was at last broken by Sir N. Rich, who said, "We must now speak, or for ever hold our peace; for us to be silent, when king and kingdom are in this calamity, is not fit. The question is, whether we shall secure ourselves by silence, yea or no. . . . Let us go to the Lords, and show our dangers, that we may then go to the king together, with our representation thereof." After some more members had spoken to the same effect, the House resolved itself into a committee, to consider what was fit to be done for the safety of the kingdom, and declared that no man should leave his seat under pain of being sent to the Tower. But before the Speaker left the chair he desired leave to go forth for half an hour. The permission was granted, and Finch hurried to the king. The heat increased on his departure. Mr. Kirton, taking care to preface his remarks with the assertion that the king was as good a prince as ever reigned, said, "That it was time to find out the enemies of the commonwealth who had so prevailed with him, and then he doubted not but God would send them hearts, hands, and swords, to cut all their throats." And he added, that for the Speaker to desire to leave the House as he had done was a thing never heard of before, and which he feared was *ominous*. Soon after this outbreak old Coke rose and said, "We have dealt with that duty and moderation that never was the like, after such a violation of the liberties of the subject. Let us take this to heart. In the time of Edward III. had parliament any doubt as to naming men that misled the king? They accused John of Gaunt, the king's son, Lord Latimer, and Lord Nevil, for misadvising the king, and they went to the Tower for it. And now, when there is such a downfall of the state, shall we hold our tongues? . . . And why may we not name those who are the cause of all our evils? . . . Let us palliate no longer: if we do, God will not prosper us. I think the Duke of Buckingham is the cause, and till the king be informed thereof, we shall never go out with honour, nor sit with honour here. That man is the grievance of grievances; let us set down the causes of all

our disasters, and they will all reflect upon him. As for going to the Lords, that is not *via regia:* our liberties are now impeached; we are deeply concerned: it is not *via regia*, for the Lords are not participant with our liberties. It is not the king, but the duke [a great cry of "'Tis he, 'tis he!'] that saith, we require you not to meddle with state government, or the ministers thereof. Did not his majesty, when prince, attend the Upper House, in our prosecution of Lord Chancellor Bacon, and the Lord Treasurer Middlesex?" This last argument was overwhelming, and Charles had felt the whole force of it before now. Other members accused the duke of treachery and incapacity as high-admiral and general-in-chief;—as an encourager and employer of Papists—as an enemy, not only to his country, *but to all Christendom.* Selden rose up and proposed a declaration under four heads:—"1. To express the House's dutiful carriage towards his majesty. 2. To tender our liberties that are violated. 3. To present what the purpose of the House was to have dealt in. 4. That that great person (the duke), fearing himself to be questioned, doth interpose and cause this distraction." "All this time," continued the learned orator, "all this time we have cast a mantle over what was done last parliament; but now, being driven again to look to that man, let us proceed with that which was then well begun; and let us renew the charge that was made last parliament against him." At this critical moment, Finch, the Speaker, coming in breathless haste from the king, told them that his majesty's commands were, that they should adjourn till the next morning, and that all committees should cease in the mean time. The House quietly adjourned. When they met on the morrow, the Speaker endeavoured to excuse his conduct in going to the king, whereby he hoped he had done nothing, nor made any representation to his majesty, but what was for the honour and service of the House. "May my tongue," said he, "cleave to the roof of my mouth ere I speak to the disadvantage of any member of this House." After this adjuration he delivered a second message from the king, declaring that his majesty had no

intention or meaning of barring them from what had been their right, but only wished to avoid all scandals on his council and actions past, and that his ministers might not be taxed; and that no such particulars should be entered upon as would require a longer time for consideration than what he had prefixed, and still resolved to hold, for the sitting of this parliament. His majesty, moreover, said that he hoped that all Christendom might have to take notice of a "sweet parting" between him and his people, and then he would not be long in having another meeting with them, when they might talk of their grievances at their leisure and convenience. The Commons denied any intention of taxing the king, but they reasserted their right of examining his ministers.* On the next day they went into committee, and examined Burlemachi, a foreign speculator, who had obtained a warrant under the privy seal, and, as he confessed before the committee, 30,000*l.*, for the hiring and bringing over troops of German horse.† One thousand of these mercenaries were already levied and armed, and waiting for transports on the coast of Holland. "The intent of bringing over these German horse," exclaimed one of the members, "is to cut our throats, or else to keep us at their obedience." Mr. Windham said that twelve of the German commanders had already arrived, and had been

* Notice being taken of Mr. Kirton's speech, "That he hoped they had all hearts, hands, and swords to cut the throats of the enemies to the king and state," that expression being this day called in question, it was resolved, "That therein he had said nothing beyond the bounds of duty and allegiance; and that they all concurred with him therein." —*Journals.*

† In this force one Dalbier was to be employed. Sir John Maynard said that "Dalbier was the only cause of the overthrow of our army at the Isle of Rhé, he being an engineer; and boasted that it was his doing that got the French so cheap a victory over the English, and that they might thank him for it: therefore this fellow, being a stranger and a juggler, is deemed an unfit man to be a commander in our kingdom." —*Parl. Hist.*

seen in St. Paul's. Burlemachi, however, asserted that the order for the embarkation of these troops had been countermanded. At the same time the House fell upon a new project of excise, copied apparently after the Dutch excise, and intended to be levied, as heretofore, without consent of parliament. It was confessed by Williamson, clerk of the crown, that this business was actually in the lord keeper's hands and under the broad seal.

The Lords joined the Commons in petitioning the king to give a more explicit answer to the Petition of Right. On the same day, at four o'clock, Charles, having come down to the House of Lords, commanded the attendance of the Commons, and told them that he had thought that the answer already given was full and satisfactory; but that to avoid all ambiguous interpretations, and to show them that there was no doubleness in his meaning, he was willing to pleasure them as well in words as in substance. "Read your petition," said he, "and you shall have such an answer as I am sure will please you." The petition was then read, and the clerk of parliament gave the royal assent in the usual old Norman form,—"*Soit droit fait comme il est desire.** Then Charles further said, "This, I am sure, is full; yet no more than I meant in my first answer. . . . . You neither mean nor *can* hurt my prerogative. I assure you that my maxim is, that the people's liberties strengthen the king's prerogative, and that the king's prerogative is to defend the people's liberties. You see, now, how ready I have showed myself to satisfy your demands, so that I have done my part; wherefore, if this parliament hath not a happy conclusion, the sin is yours—I am free of it." Thus, the Petition of Right, which confirmed some of the most sacred clauses of Magna Charta, became one of the statutes of the realm,—one of the great victories obtained over the arbitrary principle, not by blood but by money, or the timely withholding of it. Three days after—on the 10th of June—the king, still further to in-

* "Let right be done as desired."

gratiate himself, and to hurry the supplies, assured the Commons, that he was pleased that their Petition of Right, with his answer, should be not only recorded in both Houses of Parliament, but also in all the Courts of Westminster: and, further, that his pleasure was, that it should be printed for his honour and the content and satisfaction of his people; and that the Commons should proceed cheerfully to settle business for the good and reformation of the Commonwealth. On the 12th of June the Commons passed the bill for granting the five subsidies; but, at the same time, they desired to have a copy of the new commission of excise, and demanded that it should be cancelled, as being contrary to the letter and spirit of the Petition of Right. Charles made haste to cancel it, taking care, however, to state that this was done because the granting of the subsidies had rendered unnecessary that mode of raising money.

After obtaining judgment from the Lords upon Dr. Mainwaring, and animadverting on the conduct of Laud in licensing the printing and publishing of unconstitutional sermons and entertaining designs contrary to the independence and conscience of the people,* the Commons fell again upon Buckingham, and voted a long and formidable remonstrance against him, which was presented to the king by the Speaker. On that same day the duke complained to the Lords of a member of the Lower House who had attributed to him a disrespectful speech † which he had never made; and he moved that the said member should be called upon to justify himself, and his grace heard against him. The Lords, considering this complaint, ordered "That the duke should be left to himself, to do therein as he thought proper." He protested, upon his honour, that he had never had

* Neile, bishop of Winchester, was coupled with Land, and accused of Arminianism, as a damnable and slave-making heresy.

† Buckingham's speech, delivered at his own table, was, or was said to be, "Tush! it makes no matter what the Commons or parliament doth: for, [without my leave and authority, they shall not be able to touch the hair of a dog."

the words imputed to him so much as in his thoughts, and the Lords ordered this protestation to be entered on their Journals.* The Commons took up the tonnage and poundage bill, with the intention of passing it for one year, preceded, however, by a remonstrance against the levying of the duties, as Charles had done, without their consent. Before the bill was passed, and while the clerk was reading this remonstrance, they were summoned by the king to attend him in the House of Lords at an early hour. His majesty had come down unexpectedly to the Upper House, and neither he nor the Lords had had time to robe themselves when the Commons appeared with their speaker at their head. However, Charles, unrobed as he was, but seated on the throne, addressed the following speech to the two Houses, clinging, as it will be seen, with the most tenacious grasp to his old notions of prerogative:—"It may seem strange," said he, "that I come so suddenly to end this session. Before I give my assent to the bills, I will tell you the cause, though I must avow that I owe the account of my actions to God alone. It is known to every one that, a while ago, the House of Commons gave me a remonstrance, how acceptable every man may judge, and, for the merit of it, I will not call that in question, for I am sure no wise man can justify it. Now, since I am truly informed that a second remonstrance is preparing for me, to take away the profit of my tonnage and poundage, one of the chief maintenances of my crown, by alleging I have given away my right thereto by my answer to your petition, this is so prejudicial to me, that I am forced to end this session some few hours before I meant, being not willing to receive any more remonstrances to which I must give a harsh answer. And since I see that even the House of Commons begins already to make false

* According to Whitelock, Buckingham also "charged one Melvil, a Scotchman, for saying that he, the duke, intended to put the king upon a war against the commonalty, with the assistance of Scotland and the like, and that Sir Thomas Overbury had poisoned Prince Henry by his instigation."—*Memorials.*

constructions of what I granted in your petition, lest it be worse interpreted in the country, I will now make a declaration concerning the true intent thereof. The profession of both Houses, in the time of harmonizing this petition, was no way to trench upon my prerogative, saying they had neither intention nor power to hurt it. Therefore it must needs be conceived that I have granted no new, but only confirmed the ancient, liberties of my subjects. Yet, to show the clearness of my intentions, that I neither repent nor mean to recede from anything I have promised you, I do here declare myself, that those things which have been done, whereby many have had some cause to expect the liberties of the subjects to be trenched upon, which, indeed, was the first and true ground of the petition, shall not hereafter be drawn into example for your prejudice; and, from time to time, on the word of a king, ye shall not have the like cause to complain. But as for tonnage and poundage, it is a thing I cannot want, and was never intended by you to ask, nor meant by me, I am sure, to grant. To conclude, I command you all that are here to take notice of what I have spoken at this time to be the true intent and meaning of what I granted you in your petition; but especially you, my lords the judges, for to you only, under me, belongs the interpretation of laws; for none of the houses of parliament, either joint or separate (what new doctrine soever may be raised), have any power either to make or declare a law without my consent." It is undeniable that, by this abrupt prorogation while so great a matter as tonnage and poundage was still unsettled, the king returned upon his late footsteps, and dissipated what little hopes might have arisen from his tardy assent to the Petition of Right.* And it should be borne in mind how frequently Charles pursued the same retrograde course,—how constantly he grudged the smallest concession—how eager he was to avail himself of any subterfuge by which he might escape the bonds of his pledged word. It was thus that the nation, which began

* Hallam, Const. Hist.

by doubting his sincerity, ended in disbelieving his most solemn assurances. Charles, moreover, had another dangerous practice, which was, to hasten to honour the men marked with the reprobation of the House of Commons. Thus, one of his first acts after this prorogation was to translate the obnoxious Laud from the see of Bath and Wells to that of London. Laud testified his gratitude to the court by drawing up a reply to the remonstrance of the Commons.

Before Buckingham began his inglorious retreat from Rhé, the city of Rochelle was invested by a royalist army, under the command of the Duke of Angoulême and Buckingham's quondam friend Marshal Bassompierre. Although he had incited them to take up arms, Buckingham sailed away without throwing into the place the corn and provisions which he had promised, and which the Rochellers greatly needed.* Cardinal Richelieu, who had set his whole soul upon reducing this last stronghold of the French Protestants, made immense preparations for pressing the siege, and induced Louis XIII. to go thither in person to excite the zeal of his numerous troops. The king soon grew tired of the tedious operations, and returned to Paris: but Richelieu, a better soldier than priest, remained upon the spot, and superintended the construction of the celebrated dyke, which was compared to the works raised by Alexander the Great for the reduction of old Tyre.

The Rochellers clamoured for succour where succour was due; the English people were much animated by religious sympathy; Charles was disposed to assist them, and Buckingham was burning to retrieve his honours and humble the French court. During the sitting of parliament preparations were made for another expedition, and the vote of the five subsidies might have enabled the king to do more than was really done. But the nation was vexed with rumours of some new intrigues set on foot between the French queen and the English favourite, and they might well doubt the result of any warlike

* Les Larmes de l'Angleterre.

enterprise that was to be conducted by so incapable a commander as Buckingham. The people of London had continued to express their detestation of this man, and their fury had broken out in one dark act, unusual to an English rabble even in the worst times of excitement. On the day on which the House of Commons had pronounced the duke to be the curse of the nation, they barbarously murdered, in the streets of London, Dr. Lambe, his physician, who was supposed to have a principal part in his evil counsels.* They then made a doggrel distich, which ran from mouth to mouth like some of the bloody rhymes of a more recent, but *not* English, revolution :—

> Let Charles and George do what they can,
> The duke shall die like Dr. Lamb.†

A few days after the murder of Lambe a label was stuck upon a post in Coleman-street, which ran thus :—"Who rules the kingdom?—The king.—Who rules the king?—The duke. Who rules the duke?—The devil." ‡

On the Wednesday of the following week "his majesty went with the duke (taking him into his own coach, and so riding through the city, as it were to grace him) to Deptford, to see the ships; where, having seen ten fair ships ready rigged for Rochelle, they say he uttered these words to the duke:—"George, there are some that wish that both these and thou mightest both perish. But care not for them. We will both perish together if thou doest."§ After these unequivocal indications it scarcely required a spirit from the other world to intimate that the life of the favourite was in danger.‖ But the gay and confident Buckingham pro-

* Whitelock, Memorials. † Rushworth.

‡ Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville.—Sir Henry Ellis. Letters. § Id.

‖ Lord Clarendon, who was certainly not in advance of his age in philosophy, tells a long story about the ghost of Sir George Villiers, the father of the duke, appearing three several times to an officer in the king's wardrobe, in Windsor castle, to tell him to go to his son and warn him that,

ceeded to Portsmouth, where he was to embark for Rochelle. Upon Saturday, the 23rd of August, "being St. Bartholomew's eve," writes Howell, "the duke did rise up in a well-disposed humour out of his bed, and cut a caper or two; and being ready, and having been under the barber's hand (where the murderer had thought to have done the deed, for he was leaning upon the window all the while), he went to breakfast attended by a great company of commanders, where Monsieur Soubise came to him, and whispered him in the ear that Rochelle was relieved: the duke seemed to slight the news, which made some think that Soubise went away discontented." This admirable letter-writer is generally well informed as to passing events, but it should appear that it was Buckingham who attempted to persuade Soubise that Rochelle was relieved. Soubise knew very well that the place was *not* relieved, but he had other grounds for discontentment; and as no state secrets were kept, as scarcely a servant of the king or of Buckingham had the honesty to conceal what he could make money by disclosing, he probably knew that Secretary Carleton, who had at that moment arrived at Portsmouth with dispatches, brought the duke orders to open a correspondence with Richelieu as soon as he should reach Rochelle, and abandon the French Protestants for the sake of an advantageous peace with Louis. Besides Soubise there were many refugees about Buckingham; and they were seen to gesticulate very violently in conversing with the duke. This was only the habit of their country when excited, but to the English it seemed as if they threatened his grace with actual violence. The duke left his chamber to proceed to his carriage, which was in waiting, still followed by the vociferating and gesticulating Frenchmen. In the hall he was stopped by one of his officers, and at that moment he received a knife in his left breast. He drew forth the weapon, staggered, and fell; and

unless he did something to ingratiate himself with the people, or at least to abate the extreme malice they bore him, he would be suffered to live but a short time.—*Hist. Reb.*

died with the word "Villain!" upon his lips. In the throng and confusion no one saw the hand that struck the mortal blow. Susipcion fell upon the Frenchmen, who were with difficulty saved from the fury of the duke's attendants. Then some ran to keep guard at the gates, some to the ramparts of the town. During this time there was a man who went into the kitchen of the very house where the deed was done, and stood there unnoticed of all. But when a multitude of captains and gentlemen rushed into the house, exclaiming, "Where is the villain?—where is the butcher?"—that man calmly came forth amongst them, saying, "I am the man!—here I am!" They drew their swords, and would have dispatched him on the spot but for the timely interference of Secretary Carleton, Sir Thomas Morton, and some others, who took charge of him till a guard of musqueteers arrived and conveyed him to the governor's house. The assassin, who might most easily have escaped, had he been so minded, had written a paper to declare his motive, imagining that he must perish on the spot, and leave no one to speak for him. This paper was sewed in the crown of his hat, half within the lining, and was to this effect:—"That man is cowardly base, and deserveth not the name of a gentleman or soldier, that is not willing to sacrifice his life for the honour of his God, his king, and his country. Let no man commend me for the doing of it, but rather discommend themselves as the cause of it; for if God had not taken our hearts for our sins, he had not gone so long unpunished.—John Felton."*

Mr. John Felton, a gentleman by birth and education, was no stranger to many of the men and officers then collected at Portsmouth, amongst whom he had served on former occasions. He had been a lieutenant in a regiment employed the preceding year in the wretched expedition to the Isle of Rhé, but had thrown up his com-

* The original letter is in existence, and was a few years since in the possession of Mr. Upcott, of the London Institution.

mission in disgust because he saw another man promoted irregularly over his head, and because he was refused payment of his arrears. According to his own account, he was a zealous Protestant; his zeal amounted to fanaticism. He was now thrust into a dungeon, and horribly laden with irons, and a royal chaplain was sent to commune with him. Felton understood that this clergyman came not merely to offer ghostly comfort, but to search him as to his motives and accomplices, and he said to him,—"Sir, I shall be brief:—I killed him for the cause of God and my country." The chaplain replied that the surgeons gave hopes of the duke's life. "It is impossible," exclaimed Felton, "I had the power of forty men, assisted by Him that guided my hand." The chaplain failed in his mission, and the enthusiastic assassin was conveyed from Portsmouth to the Tower of London, there to be examined by bishops and lords of the council. On his road he was greeted with prayers and blessings by the common people, who regarded him as a deliverer.*

"The court," says Clarendon, "was too near Portsmouth, and too many courtiers upon the place, to leave this murder (so barbarous in the nature and circumstances, the like whereof had not been known in England many ages) long concealed from the king. His majesty was at the public prayers of the church, when Sir John Hippesly came into the room with a troubled countenance, and, without any pause in respect to the exercise they were performing, went directly to the king and whispered in his ear what had fallen out. His majesty continued unmoved, and without the least change in his countenance, till prayers were ended, when he suddenly departed to his chamber and threw

* "As Felton the last week passed through Kingston-upon-Thames, an old woman bestowed this salutation upon him:—'Now God bless thee, Little David!' quoth she,—meaning he had killed Goliath. . . Some confidently report he shall be reserved till the parliament; but others pray God he be not racked and put to death before."—*Meade*, in *Sir H. Ellis' Letters*.

himself upon his bed, lamenting with much passion, and with abundance of tears, the loss he had of an excellent servant, and the horrid manner in which he had been deprived of him; and he continued in this melancholic discomposure of mind many days. Yet his manner of receiving the news in public, when it was first brought him in the presence of so many (who knew or saw nothing of the passion he expressed upon his retreat), made many men believe that the accident was not very ungrateful, at least, that it was very indifferent to him, as being rid of a servant very ungracious to the people, and the prejudice of whose person exceedingly obstructed all overtures made in parliament for his service. And, upon this observation, persons of all conditions took great licence in speaking of the person of the duke, and dissecting all his infirmities, believing they should not thereby incur any displeasure of the king; in which they took very ill measures, for from that time almost to the time of his own death, the king admitted very few into any degree of trust who had ever discovered themselves to be enemies to the duke, or against whom he had manifested a notable prejudice."*

For the present Charles took the duke's widow and children under his special protection, paid his debts, which were considerable, styled Buckingham his martyr, and ordered his body to be buried among the illustrious dead in Westminster Abbey. He could not, however, venture upon a grand public funeral. At ten o'clock at night, on the 18th of September, a coffin was borne on men's shoulders, and in a poor and confused manner, from Wallingford House over against Whitehall to Westminster Abbey, there being not much above a hundred mourners, who attended upon an *empty* coffin, for the duke's corpse itself had been secretly interred the day before, as if it had been doubted the people in their madness might have surprised it. As the empty coffin was carried along by night, to prevent disorder, the train bands kept guard on both sides of the way, beating their

* Hist.

drums to drown the voices of the people, and carrying their pikes and muskets upon their shoulders as in a march, not trailing them as was usual at a mourning.*

Felton, meanwhile, persisted in his assertion that he had no accomplices, and no motive but that of doing good to his country and the cause of the true religion.† The Earl of Dorset, who, according to some accounts, was accompanied by Bishop Laud, went to the Tower and threatened the prisoner with the rack. "I am ready," said Felton: "yet I must tell you that I will then accuse *you*, my Lord of Dorset, and no one but yourself." The king was desirous of employing the rack; but the House of Commons had of late given many salutary lessons and warnings, and the judges unanimously declared that the use of torture had been at all times unwarrantable by the laws of England; and upon this declaration Charles declined to use his prerogative. For some time Felton gloried in his deed; but at length, "through the continual inculcation of his majesty's chaplains and others of the long robe," he was induced to consider himself in the light of a foul murderer. It may be doubted, however, whether he ever really regretted that Buckingham was removed. When put upon his trial, he confessed the fact with which he was charged, but added, that he did it not maliciously, but out of an interest for the good of his country. The attorney-general made a speech in aggravation of the offence, showing the high quality of the person killed, who was

* Meade.

† Meade says that it was reported he affirmed in the Tower, "that his only confederate and setter on was the remonstrance of the parliament, which he then verily thought in his soul and conscience to be a sufficient warrant for what he did upon the duke's person." And Sir Dudley Carleton, who wrote a long account of the assassination to the queen, avers that Felton had said, at Portsmouth, on his first arrest, "that, reading the remonstrance of the House of Parliament, it came into his mind that, in committing the act of killing the duke, he should do his country great good service."

so dear and near a subject of the king's, so faithful a servant to his majesty, so great a counsellor of state, a general, high-admiral, &c. &c.; and, producing the knife in open court, he compared Felton to Ravaillac, who had murdered Henry IV. of France. Judge Jones asked Felton what he could say why judgment should not be given against him, without impanneling a jury or examining witnesses. Felton answered that he was sorry *if* he had taken away so faithful a servant to his majesty as Mr. Attorney had described the duke to be, and, lifting up his arm, he said, "This is the instrument which did the fact; I desire it may be first cut off." The judge told him that, by the law, if a man strike in the king's palace, he is to lose his hand, &c.; but it was not his majesty's pleasure that they should proceed against him in any other way than that which the law had ordinarily determined in such cases. "You shall therefore," said he, "have the law and no more;" and so gave sentence he should be hanged until he were dead. Felton bowed and thanked his lordship. He was hanged at Tyburn, and his body, by the king's orders, was sent down to Portsmouth and fixed on a gibbet.*

In lieu of Buckingham as commander of the expedition to Rochelle, Charles appointed the Earl of Lindsey, who sailed on the 8th of September with a formidable fleet and army, which did no more than might have been done had they still been commanded by the favourite. At the same time private negotiations were carried on with the French court by means of Mr. Walter Montague,† who was then a Catholic in heart, and, as such, averse to the Protestant Rochellers. Lindsey returned with dishonour, and soon after Rochelle, the last bulwark of the Huguenots, was taken by Richelieu. When the siege

* Rushworth.—State Trials.—Letters of Carleton and Meade, in Ellis.

† Montague was second son of the Earl of Manchester. He afterwards publicly recanted, settled in France, was made Commendatory Abbot of Pontoise, and a member of the council to the Queen Regent, Anne of Austria.

began there were fifteen thousand souls within those walls; when it ended there remained but four thousand, and these half dead from famine.

A.D. 1629.—Parliament, which had been further prorogued from the 20th of October to the 20th of January, met when the spirit of Protestantism was embittered by these events. The first things the Commons did were to revive all committees of religion and grievances, and to take into consideration what things the liberty of the subject had been invaded in against their Petition of Right since the end of the last session. Mr. Selden soon after reported to the House that the unpalatable speech which his majesty made in the Lords the last day of the last session had been entered on the Journals along with the Petition of Right, and the proper answer, by his majesty's command. But in fact, to the country Charles had suppressed the proper document, and circulated in its stead a copy of the petition with his first answer to it, which parliament had rejected. The king's printer being sent for to know by what authority he had suppressed the original impression and printed another with unwarrantable additions, answered that he had a warrant for it; and upon sending some of the members to his house, it was found that the clerk of the Lords had sent the proper papers; that, during the sitting of parliament, fifteen hundred copies of them had been printed, but very few divulged; and that the day after the session was ended the attorney-general had sent for the printer and told him, as from the king, that he must not publish these papers,—that the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Worcester, had told him as much; and that soon after the printer was sent for to court, and told that he must make a new impression, and print the Petition of Right with the king's first answer to it, and his majesty's last speech in the Lords. The House was indignant at this double dealing. "For this Petition of Right," said Selden, "we know how it has been invaded since our last meeting. Our liberties of life, person, and freehold have been invaded,—men have been committed contrary to that petition. . . . No man ought to lose life or

limb but by the law, and hath not one lately lost his ears by order of the Star Chamber? Next, they will take away our arms, and then our legs, and so our lives. Let all see we are sensible of this. Evil customs creep in on us: let us make a just representation thereof to his majesty." But the attention of the House was presently drawn away to the case of Mr. Rolles, a merchant and a member of the House, who complained that his goods were seized by the officers of the customs, for refusing to pay the rates by them demanded, although he told them what was adjudged to be due by law he would pay them. This case, which was only one of many, transported the Commons. "Cast your eyes which way you please," exclaimed Sir Robert Philips, "you see violations of the liberty of the subject. Look on the privileges of this House. . . They knew the party was a parliament man; nay, they said if all the parliament was with him, or concerned in the goods, they would seize them just the same." "We have had good admonitions," cried Littleton, "and we have followed them. We have had moderation preached to us in parliament, and we follow it. I would others did the like out of parliament. Let the parties be sent for that violated the liberties of parliament, that they may have their doom." The king sent a message commanding them to stay any further debate or proceedings in that case until the morrow at two o'clock in the afternoon, when his majesty was resolved to speak with both Houses in the Banqueting House at Whitehall. On the morrow—the 24th of January—the two Houses attended at the time and place appointed, and Charles thus addressed them, paying a compliment to the Lords at the expense of the Commons: "The care I have," he said, "to remove all obstacles that may hinder the good correspondency, or cause a misunderstanding betwixt me and this parliament, made me call you hither at this time, the particular occasion being a complaint lately moved in the Lower House. For you, my lords, I am glad to take this and all other occasions whereby you may clearly understand both my words and actions: for, as you are nearest in degree, so

you are the fittest witnesses for kings. The complaint I speak of is for staying men's goods that deny tonnage and poundage. This may have an easy and short conclusion, if my words and actions be rightly understood; for, by passing the bill as my ancestors have had it, my by-past actions will be concluded and my future proceedings authorised, which certainly would not have been struck upon if men had not imagined that I had taken these duties as pertaining unto my hereditary prerogative, in which they are much deceived: for it ever was, and still is, my meaning, by the gift of my people to enjoy it; and my intention in my speech at the end of the last session was not to challenge tonnage and poundage as of right, but *de bene esse*, showing you the necessity, not the right, by which I was to take it until you had granted it unto me, assuring myself, according to your general professions, that you wanted time, and not good-will, to give to me." He proceeded to tell the Commons he expected that they, without loss of time, would vote the tonnage and poundage, and so put an end to all questions arising out of this subject. "To conclude," he proceeded, "let us not be jealous one of the other's actions; for, if I had been easily moved at every occasion, the order made in the Lower House on Wednesday night last might have made me startle, there being some show to suspect that you had given yourselves the liberty to be the inquisitors after complaints, the words of your order being somewhat too largely penned; but, looking into your actions, I find you only hear complaints, not seek complaints, for I am certain you neither pretend nor desire to be inquisitors of men's actions before particular complaint be made."

The truth was, the Commons were resolute to be inquisitors of many men's actions—men like Laud and other bishops, counsellors, and ministers, who attacked their consciences and their property. The Commons knew well that the voting of tonnage and poundage for life was a comparatively modern practice, and they were determined not only not to vote these duties for life, but not even for a term of years,—no, not for a single year,

—unless they should see a change in the conduct of the king. They proceeded in the first place to the subject of religion, declaring that the business of the kings of this earth should give place to the business of the King of Heaven. For doctrine and discipline, and all matters connected with the church, Charles had given the reins to Bishop Laud, who was not only resolved to introduce great and manifold changes, which certainly went to assimilate more and more the Anglican establishment to the Roman church, but also to tolerate no delay or dissent,—to enforce conformity by imprisonment, the pillory, the hangman's whip and knife. Laud's creed was Arminianism in the widest sense. The Commons coupled the two things together, and complained of the rapid increase of Arminianism and Papistry, much resenting the fact, that of late not one Papist had been hanged for receiving orders in the Church of Rome. Mr. Pym proposed that the House should take a covenant for the maintenance of their religion and rights, which were both in danger; and he and other members inveighed loudly touching the late introducing of idolatrous ceremonies in the church by Cosens and others. As the sins of the land were deemed to be greater than its troubles, they ordered that a conference should be desired with the Lords about a petition to the king for the ordering of a general fast. The Lords granted the conference and joined in the petition, which was granted by the king, with a few remarks which greatly irritated the zealots. The king admitted the deplorable estate of the reformed churches abroad, which was made the chief ground for the petition; but he told parliament that certainly fighting would do those churches more good than fasting. "Though," continued he, "I do not wholly disallow the latter, yet I must tell you that this custom of fasting every session is but lately begun; and I confess I am not fully satisfied with the necessity of it at this time." A day or two after, the king sent a message to the Commons to tell them that they ought to settle the question of tonnage and poundage before they meddled more with religion; and the court party, now weak and timid, made some speeches in recommendation

of the message; but the Puritans only fell the more violently upon some of the bishops for introducing the new ceremonies. They again indignantly asserted that Popery and Arminianism were joining hands to produce a Romish hierarchy and a Spanish tyranny. On the 28th of January Secretary Coke delivered a second message from the king, telling the Commons that his majesty expected rather thanks than a remonstrance; that still he would not interrupt them, so that they trenched not on that which did not belong to them. "But his majesty," added Coke, "still commands me to tell you that he expects precedency of tonnage and poundage." Dark rumours were abroad of the king's intention to dissolve parliament as soon as they should vote the tonnage and poundage for life, and "not soon to call another." The Commons continued to occupy themselves with the subject of religion, and they drew up a brief resolution, stating that they held for truth the articles of religion as established by parliament in the reign of Elizabeth, and utterly rejected the sense of Jesuits and Arminians. On the 2nd of February, instead of their bill of tonnage and poundage, they presented to the king their "Apology" for delaying that bill. They complained of his majesty's sending them two messages in three days, telling him that that manner of pressing the House was inconsistent with their orders and privileges. On the following day Secretary Coke assured the House, in his majesty's name, that he was misunderstood as to a command, which was not the meaning, but simply a desire on the king's part, for the sake of concord; that his majesty was as anxious as they were for the true faith, but must needs think it strange that this business of religion should be only a hindrance of his affairs. And, in the end, the king insisted on their passing the tonnage and poundage bill, telling them they must not think it strange, if he found them slack, that he should give them *such further quickening* as he might find cause. This message did Charles far more harm than good: the House stuck to their grievances, and went on debating about Popery and Arminianism. Mr. Kirton declared that the "too great

bishops" (Laud and Neile) were the main and great roots of all those evils which were come upon them and their religion. "Let us inquire," added he, "what sort of men they have preferred in the church, and why?" Everybody knew that Mainwaring, and Sibthorp, and Cosens, and other men obnoxious for their Arminianism and their advocacy of an absolute monarchy,—individuals condemned and sentenced by parliament,—had been recently put upon the ladder of promotion; and the House now appointed a sub-committee to inquire into the pardons granted to those offenders, in scorn of their own justice.

In the course of the debates on this subject there rose to speak, for the first time, a sturdy, somewhat clownish-looking man, of about thirty years of age, with a slovenly coat and a neglected hat. His speech was thick and graceless, but there was an earnestness in his manner, a look of command about his person, that imposed respect, if not awe. It was Mr. Oliver Cromwell, the new member for Huntingdon. "I have heard," said Cromwell, "from one Dr. Beard, that Dr. Alablaster hath preached flat popery at St. Paul's Cross, and that the Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Neile) commanded him, as his diocesan, to preach nothing to the contrary. And Dr. Mainwaring, so justly censured for his sermons in this House, has been, by this bishop's means, preferred to a rich living. If these are steps to church preferment, what may we not expect?"

The result of the whole inquiry was, that the bishops and the court had in all cases taken the obnoxious preachers and their principles, both political and theological, into special favour. The Commons, however, did not altogether lose sight of illegal taxation. They brought Acton, the sheriff of London who had seized the merchants' goods, on his knees to the bar of their House, and thence sent him to the Tower. They also brought to their bar some of the officers of customs, who declared that they had made the seizures by the king's warrant; and one of the officers said he had been sent for and commanded by the king to give them no further

answer. The Commons even brought the barons of the Exchequer to account; and those high functionaries declined justifying the legality of the measures which had been pursued.*

On the 25th of February the sub-committee of religion presented a long and circumstantial report, under the title of "Heads of Articles agreed upon, and to be insisted on by the House." In this paper no quarter was shown to Laud and Arminianism. They complained especially of the publishing, by bishop's licence, of books in favour of Popery, and of the suppressing of books against Popery. They asked, among many other things, for the removal of candlesticks from the communion-table, which they said was now wickedly called a *high altar;* for the removal of pictures, lights, and images, and of praying towards the east, and crossing *ad omnem motum et gestum*. They complained of the bishops bringing men to questuoi and trouble for not obeying their commands in these respects; but they themselves called with Stentorian voices for the persecuting of the Papists and the exemplary punishment of all teachers, publishers, and maintainers of popish opinions. They required, moreover, that books like those of Montague and Mainwaring should be burnt; that some good order should be taken for licensing books hereafter; that bishoprics and other ecclesiastical preferments should be conferred by his majesty, with advice of his privy council, upon learned, pious, and orthodox men; that the bishops and clergymen thus chosen should reside upon their charge, and that some course might be taken in the present parliament for providing competent means for the maintenance of a godly, able minister in every parish of the kingdom.

In the face of this determined opposition, Charles rashly determined, at all hazards, to maintain Laud and the hierarchy. Immediately after the reading of th above articles, he sent to command both Houses to ad journ to Monday, the 2nd of March, notwithstanding th right which the Commons claimed to fix their own ac

* Rushworth.—Whitelock.—Parl. Hist.

journment. Thereupon the House adjourned; but, on the 2nd of March, Sir John Eliot stood up, and, after expressing his duty to the king, once more denounced Arminianism, and then fell with his whole weight upon the great Bishop of Winchester and his greater abettor—"that is," continued Eliot, "the Lord Treasurer Weston, in whose person all evil is concentrated, both for the innovation of religion and invasion of our liberties; he being now the great enemy of the commonwealth. I have traced him in all his actions, and I find him building on those grounds laid by his master, the great duke; he, secretly, is moving for this interruption; and, from this fear, *they go about to break parliaments, lest parliaments should break them.*" Then the Speaker, Sir John Finch, delivered a message from the king, commanding him "to adjourn the House until Tuesday come seven-night following." Several members objected that this message was vexatious and irregular, and that it was not the office of their Speaker to deliver any such commands—for the adjournment of the House properly belonged to themselves. And then they said that, after they had settled a few things, they would satisfy his majesty. Sir John Eliot forthwith produced a remonstrance to the king against the illegal levying of tonnage and poundage, and against the lord treasurer, who "dismayed the merchants, drove out trade," &c. Eliot desired the Speaker to read this paper, but the Speaker said he could not, as the king had adjourned the House. It was then proposed that the remonstrance should be read by the clerk of the House, at the table, but the clerk also refused. And thereupon Eliot read it himself with much more effect than either of the officials could have produced. When Sir John had finished the reading, the Speaker refused to put it to the vote, saying, "he was commanded otherwise by the king." Mr. Selden then got up and said, "Mr. Speaker, if you will not put the question, which we command you, we must sit still; and so we shall never be able to do anything." The Speaker replied, that he had an express command from the king, so soon as he had delivered his message of adjournment, to rise. And thereupon he

rose; but Hollis, son to the Earl of Clare, Mr. Valentine, and other members of that stamp, forced him to sit down again, and held him fast to his chair. At the same time some of the patriots locked the doors of the House, and brought up the keys to the table. Sir Thomas Edmonds and other members of the House, who were privy counsellors or courtiers, rushed to the release of the pinioned speaker. "God's wounds!" cried Hollis, "he shall sit still till it pleases us to rise." A rude scuffle ensued, during which the Speaker *shed an abundance of tears*. As the courtiers were too weak to release him, he at last sat still, and said, crying more than ever, "I will not say *I will not*, but *I dare not*. I have his majesty's commands. I dare not sin against the express command of the sovereign." Selden then delivered a constitutional speech on the duties of a Speaker of the House of Commons, and told him that he ought to proceed and put the remonstrance to the vote; but the Speaker "still refused, with extremity of weeping and supplicatory orations. Sir Peter Hayman, a gentleman of his own county and of his own blood, told him that he blushed at being his kinsman; that he was a disgrace to his country—a blot to a noble family; that all the inconveniences that might follow—yea, even to the destruction of parliament—would be considered as the issue of his baseness by posterity, by whom he would be remembered with scorn and disdain." Sir Peter ended by recommending, that if he would not do his duty, he should be brought to the bar of the House, and a new Speaker chosen at once.

END OF VOL. X.

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